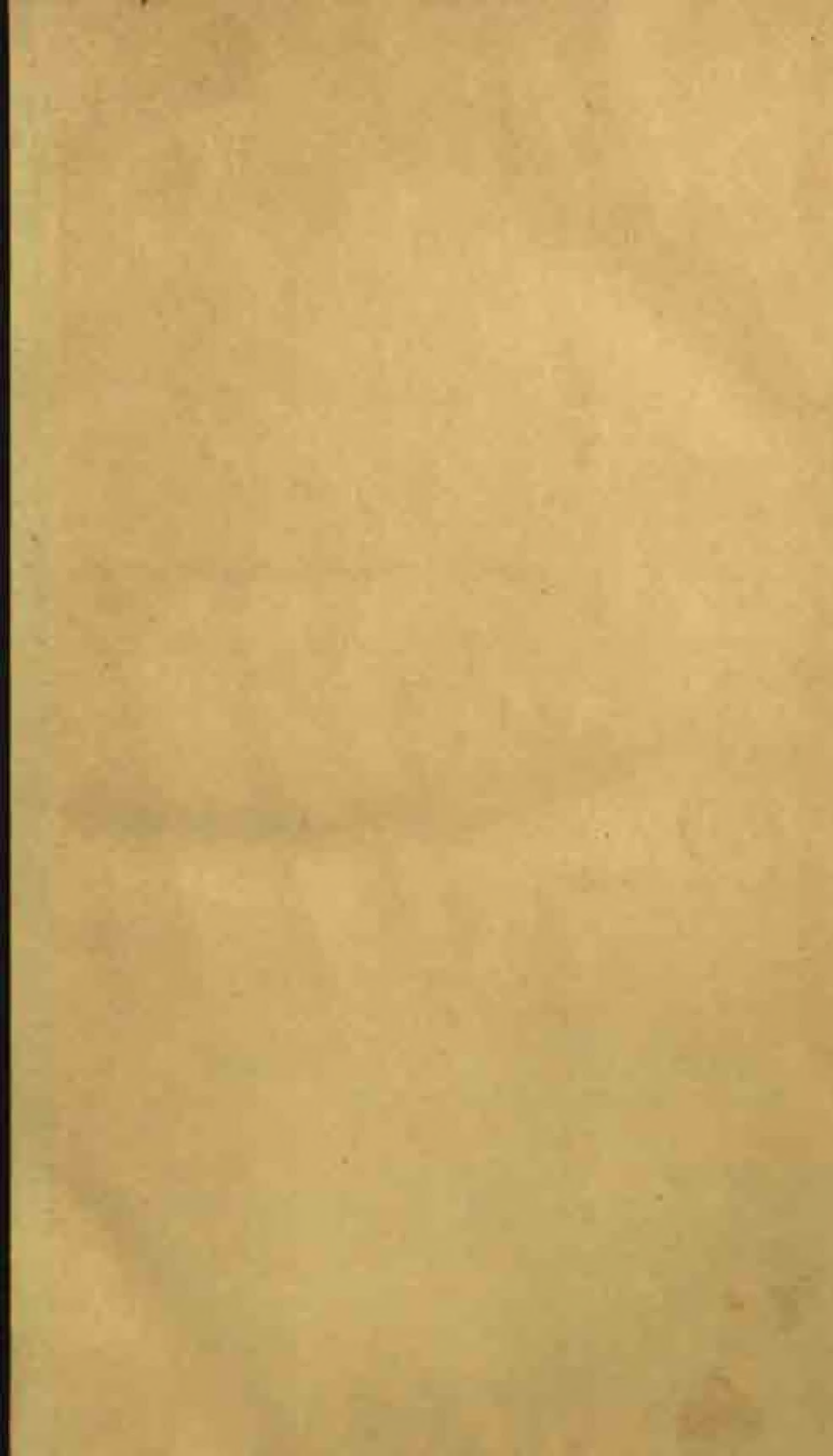


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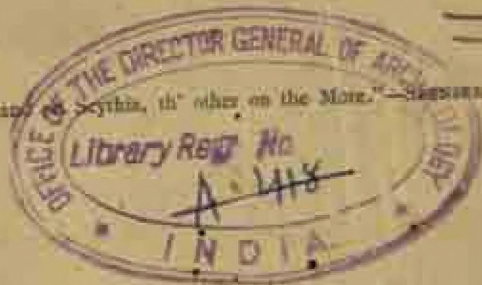
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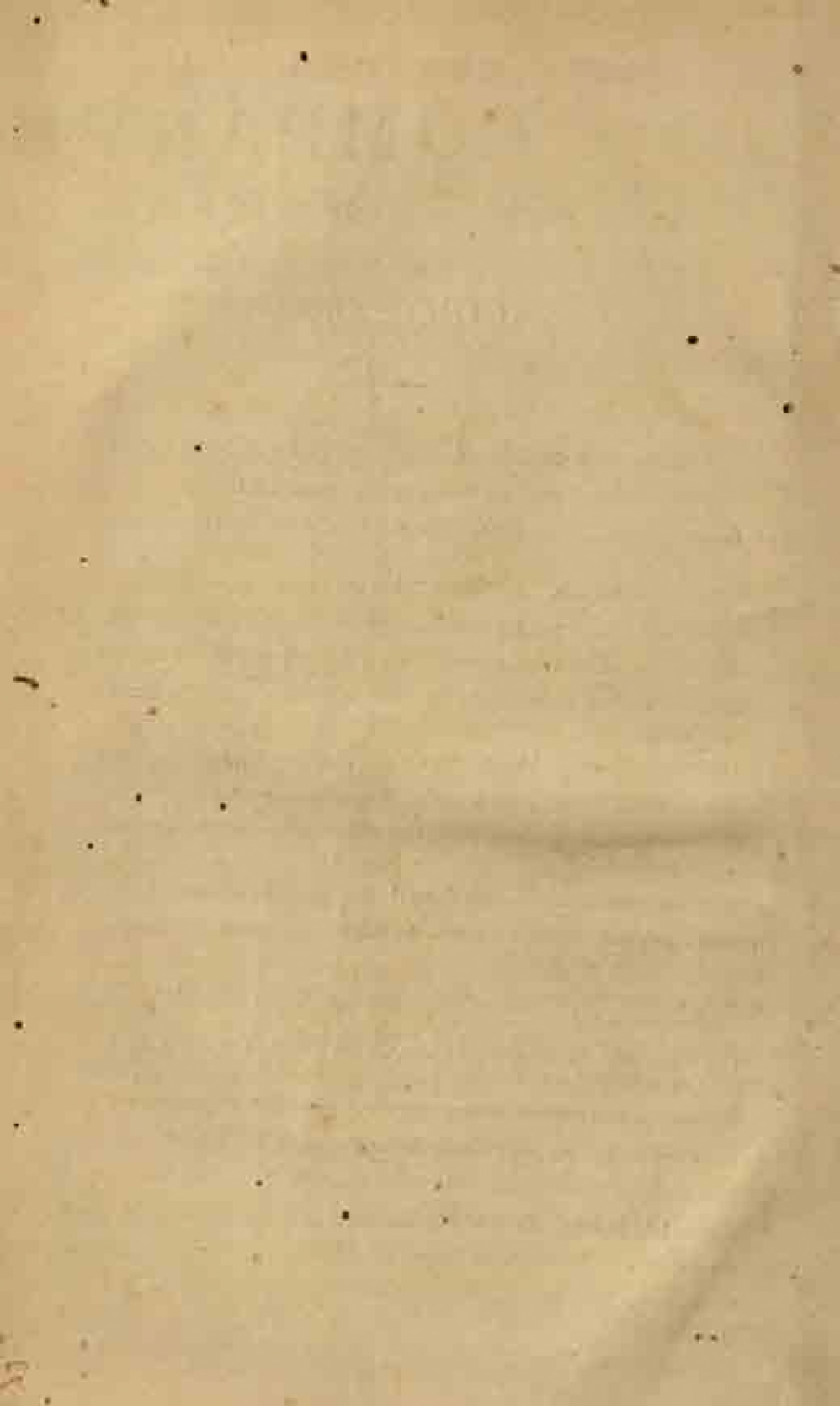
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE RESTITUTION OF GWALIOR FORT. By Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.	1
THE CHRISTMAS TREE. By Sir George Birdwood, C.S.I.	19
FIELD-MARSHAL LORD STRATHNAIRN. By Colonel Sir Owen Burne, K.C.S.I.	52
HOBSON-JOBSONIANA. By Colonel Yule, C.B.	119
CHINA AND BURMAH. By Professor Douglas	147
THE TURKS IN PERSIA AND THE CAUCASUS. By Professor Vambery	165
EARLY ENGLISH ENTERPRISE IN THE FAR EAST. By Demetrius Boulger	180
THE CHILDHOOD OF AKBAR. By Colonel Malletson, C.S.I.	200
THE CHINESE BRAVE. By J. George Scott (Shway Yoe)	223
FEMALE MEDICAL AID FOR THE WOMEN OF INDIA. By the Countess of Dufferin, C.I.	257
THE MEETING OF INDIA AND CHINA. By Demetrius Boulger	273
WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THE SUDAN? By Colonel Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.	297
THE PUBLIC WORKS AND PROGRESS OF INDIA. By Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I.	327
THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA. By Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, K.C.S.I., C.B.	354
VILLAGE SANITATION IN INDIA. By W. G. Pedder	372
THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA. By A. N. Wellaston, C.I.E.	390
THE ENGLISH CONNECTION WITH SUMATRA. By F. C. Danvers	410
BOYCOTTED SILVER. By J. M. Maclean, M.P.	437
NATIVE INDIA. By Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.	450
SUMMARY OF EVENTS	484
REVIEWS	485, 489



THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1886.

THE RESTITUTION OF GWALIOR FORT.

THE cession to His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of the historical fortress of Gwalior, and the withdrawal of the British army from the neighbouring cantonment of Morar, has been, naturally, the subject of much comment in both England and India; although it is in the latter country that its full significance is best appreciated and understood.

For forty-two years, since the defeat of the Gwalior army at Maharajpore and Punniar, the fortress has been held by British troops excepting for an interval of five years, between 1853, when the Maharaja Scindia attained his majority, and 1858, when his troops mutinied, and the fortress, which had been restored to the Maharaja, was captured from the rebel troops by the late Lord Strathnairn, then Sir Hugh Rose.

I cannot but anticipate that there will be many, especially military critics, who will condemn the restitution; and there will be a still larger number who, while confiding in the loyalty and good sense of Her Majesty's Indian Government, will still consider that in days of trouble and anxiety like the present, when on all our Indian borders clouds are gathering, it was a doubtful policy to surrender one of those positions which, through all historic times, the people of

India have been accustomed to associate with empire, and which enabled us to hold a dominant position with regard to the army of one of the most powerful and capable of Indian princes. On the other hand, the inherent strength and courage of the policy adopted, and certain distinct advantages which attach to it, will be appreciated and understood by Englishmen and Indians alike. The cession of the Gwalior fort is not alone a compliment addressed to Maharaja Scindia. It is the generous response of the British Government to the sincere and unsought proffers of assistance and declarations of devotion which, on the eve of war with Russia, were received from all the important native States. It seems to assure them that their loyalty is not only graciously accepted by the Queen-Empress, but is fully credited by her and her ministers; that the proffers of men and money and personal service, made to the Government from every province of Hindustan, were not so many empty and idle expressions, intended to veil a deep-seated disloyalty, or to shroud sinister designs and actions; but were, what they professed to be, the heartfelt and eager wish of the chiefs to be allowed, within or beyond the Indian borders, to fight by the side of English troops in defence of the flag which, since the Empress herself assumed the sovereignty of India, they have accepted as national.

The secret of the surrender of the fortress was well kept, and until the eve of the event was not in the possession of the press. Now, however, that the announcement has been publicly made by the Viceroy in full durbar, and that secrecy no longer attaches to the negotiations, it may not be uninteresting that one who was officially connected with the proceedings should place before Englishmen those considerations and facts, which may guide their judgment in estimating the importance of the event, and which may help to convince those able and instructed critics who are now disposed to dispute the wisdom of the policy followed, that the Government were

as judicious and far-seeing in their action, as the effects of that action will be extended and enduring.

I would first, then, in order to make the question clear to the general reader, give a brief account of our past connection with the Gwalior fortress, and then explain the circumstances and conditions which seem to amply justify its surrender.

Madhoji Scindia, the second son of the founder of the family, came into collision with the British Government in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, during the first Mahratta war, when his power, which had been steadily growing and becoming more and more formidable, received its first serious check from the expedition sent by Hastings to create a diversion in the north of the Mahratta country, and relieve the Bombay Government of the pressure which had compelled them to accede to the "infamous convention" of Wurgaum.

It was in the course of this expedition that Major Popham, the commander, after storming Lahore, captured, for the first time, in a night attack, and with but twenty European soldiers and two companies of sepoy, the rock-fortress of Gwalior. This disaster, followed as it was by another defeat in the open field by Major Carnac, Popham's successor, brought Scindia to terms, and he concluded the first treaty with the British Government in 1781, by which his independent position was fully recognised, and in which he agreed to mediate a peace between the Company and the Mahratta Government at Poona. The result of this mediation was the treaty of Salbye in the following year, between the British and the Peshwa—a settlement of differences which Madhoji Scindia undertook to guarantee, and by so doing acquired additional importance among the other Mahratta chiefs.

Madhoji died in 1794, and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Doulat Rao Scindia, during whose reign the power of the Mahrattas, and the discipline and number of the Maharaja's troops, continually increased under the

supervision and training of French officers, until Generals Wellesley and Lake, in the second Mahratta war, defeated him, and compelled him by the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaon, to surrender all his territories in Hindustan Proper. The treaty of November, 1805, ceded Gwalior to the Maharaja, and constituted the river Chumbul the northern boundary of the Mahratta possessions, which it still remains.

From that time to 1827, when he died, Doulat Rao Scindia remained at peace with the British Government, though convicted on various occasions, and particularly during the Pindaree troubles, of intriguing desperately with its enemies, conduct which it was not convenient to investigate too closely or to resent.

The Maharaja left no son, nor had he, according to Hindu custom, adopted a successor. A youth of eleven years of age was, however, selected from among the poor relations of the family to succeed him, although the turbulent elements in the Gwalior State required the strength and courage of a man to hold them in check. The natural and inevitable consequence of a long minority ensued, and the State during the whole reign of this chief remained in a virtual condition of anarchy; the great nobles carrying on private war against each other, and the troops being in a chronic state of mutiny.

In February, 1843, the Maharaja, Jankoji Scindia, died. Like his predecessor, he had no son, nor had he expressed any wish regarding the succession, although repeatedly and earnestly pressed by the Resident to do so. His widow, a girl of twelve years of age, adopted the present Maharaja, Jiaji Rao Scindia, then a child of eight years. This selection was made with the consent of the nobles and the principal officers of the army, and the adoption and succession were recognised and approved by the British Government. The administration was to be carried on by the maternal uncle of the late Maharaja, known as the Mama Sahib, as Regent, who was believed to possess great influence in the State. But successful intrigues were

at once started against him, and the opposing faction seized the power, drove the Regent from the capital, and filled all offices with persons known to be hostile to the British Government. At the same time large bodies of excited troops were concentrated at Gwalior, and the attitude of the Durbar became so unfriendly that, in view of the approaching Sikh campaign, and the necessity of having a friendly State and not a hostile one in the rear of the British army, it was considered imperative to interfere directly in the Gwalior administration, and insist upon the expulsion of those who had been responsible for the late revolution. The British force moved against Gwalior, where the troops were in full revolt, and had gained possession of the person of the Maharani and the minor chief. The battles of Maharajpore and Punniar need not here be described. They were fought on the same day, and their result was the complete defeat of the Gwalior army and the acceptance of the demands of the Government, in accordance with which the State army was reduced to 6,000 cavalry, 3,000 infantry, and 200 gunners with 32 guns. Territory to the value of 16 lakhs of rupees a year was assigned to the British Government for the maintenance of a contingent force, and other lands for the payment of the debts of the State to the British Government and the expenses of the war. It was further ordered that during the minority of the Maharaja, the administration should be conducted in accordance with the advice of the British Resident, and, on its part, the Government undertook to confirm and maintain all the territorial rights of the Gwalior State. The treaty which contained these provisions was signed on January 13, 1844. From that date till 1853 the fortress of Gwalior was held on behalf of His Highness by British troops. Upon his coming of age, in 1853, it was surrendered to him by Lord Dalhousie. Then followed the mutiny of 1857, and the revolt of the Gwalior contingent at Morar. Scindia's troops, excited and exposed to constant temptation, remained

through a whole year outwardly loyal to their master, who, ably supported by his wise and devoted Minister, Sir Dinkur Rao, K.C.S.I., had thrown in his lot with the British Government. At length, after a year of anxiety, and when the neck of the revolt was broken and British supremacy was again being asserted throughout Hindustan, the Gwalior army, on the approach of the last formidable rebel leader, Tantia Topi, weakly mutinied, and drove the Maharaja from his capital. Retribution followed swiftly on the offence. That brilliant soldier who has lately passed away, Lord Strathnairn, had within a fortnight defeated the rebel army and recaptured the fortress, and the Maharaja was again reinstated in his capital.

After the conclusion of peace throughout India, when Lord Canning was rewarding the loyal, punishing the unfriendly, and renewing and modifying, in his new character of Viceroy, the engagements which had been concluded with native States by the British Government in the name of the East India Company, the Gwalior treaties came under revision. The new obligations of the Maharaja were embodied in a treaty of December 12, 1860. This document contains no mention of the fortress, which had remained in our possession after its capture by Sir Hugh Rose; but in the negotiations it was not forgotten, and Lord Canning gave to His Highness a conditional promise that it would be restored when this could be safely done.

The treaty of 1860 raised the maximum number of the force which the Maharaja might maintain, and it further substituted for the contingent force, maintained under the treaty of 1844, a subsidiary force, which was practically a brigade of the British army, to be maintained within His Highness's territories. The expense of this force was not to be less than sixteen lakhs of rupees per annum, to meet which districts had been before assigned.

The Maharaja, who had bitterly felt his helpless position in 1857-58, when he was utterly at the mercy of his mutinous soldiers, readily assented to the retention of the

fortress by the British. But the necessity was an exceedingly odious and unpalatable one, seeing that the fortress entirely dominated his new capital and his palace.

In 1863 the question was fully considered by the Government. The cantonment of Morar, five miles from Gwalior, which, it was assumed, could not be held with safety were the fortress surrendered, was exceedingly unhealthy and unpopular, and the Government was anxious to leave it for some more healthy site, if this could be found in a good strategical position. After long inquiry, however, it was found impracticable to remove the cantonment, and Scindia himself in those days was very averse to losing the support and protection afforded him by the presence of a British brigade five miles from his palace and lines; and, finally, in 1864, he gave to Sir John Lawrence, who was then Viceroy, a cheerful acquiescence in the continued retention of the fortress by the British Government so long as they should deem it necessary to retain it, on condition that his own flag was flown from its ramparts and that he was saluted by its guns; and, further, that should our garrison be withdrawn the fortress should be restored to him. To these conditions no objection could, of course, be offered, and he was addressed by the Viceroy to this effect, the compliment of an addition of 12 guns and 120 gunners to his force being permitted.

Twenty-one years have now elapsed since this arrangement, made by Sir John Lawrence, was concluded, and no change has been made in the possession, or in the conditions attaching to the occupation of Morar and the fort. It is true that the question of the surrender has been more than once discussed, and, indeed, it may be said to have remained permanently pending before the Government of India. In 1870 it was taken up by Lord Mayo in a most statesmanlike manner. Every reason for and against the abandonment of Morar and the cession of the fortress was fully argued. It was the disinclination of the Home Government which prevented the rendition being then,

carried into effect, and from that date till the present time the question was not again seriously considered.

But Scindia's anxiety to repossess his fortress has grown even stronger in proportion as the general tranquillity of the country has become more and more complete. As communications, railways, and telegraphs have extended, and, with them, the power of rapidly concentrating troops and suppressing mutiny, the Maharaja has dwelt less on the disasters of 1858, and felt less anxious for the immediate neighbourhood of a British brigade; and it has at no time been a secret from those political officers who have been charged with the conduct of official business with His Highness, that the chief desire of his heart and life has been to recover possession of his family fortress, and that his feeling towards the British Government has been persistently clouded and embittered by their disinclination to reopen the question of its restoration. Now, with special pomp, in solemn Durbar, and to the joy of the Maharaja and the silent satisfaction of all the greater princes, Lord Dufferin has announced the rendition of the fortress to Scindia, the abandonment of the British cantonment of Morar, and the withdrawal of the British forces to Agra on the one hand, and to Jhansi and Saugor on the other, beyond the borders of Gwalior territory; the Maharaja, on his part, agreeing to certain conditions necessary to prevent danger to the military strength or the strategical position of the Indian Government.

I will now endeavour to show that the action which the Government have taken is politic and reasonable, not only from a sentimental point of view, which must not be neglected in a country like India, where sentiment sways men's minds perhaps more than declared and admitted fact, but also on grounds of military and political advantage, our strength being distinctly increased by the cession and not diminished.

The more important conditions of the agreement are as follows: The British Government cedes to Maharaja

Scindia the cantonment of Morar, which at the present time is British territory, with all its valuable barracks and buildings, of an estimated value of half a million sterling, and restores to him the fortress of Gwalior, with its barracks, buildings, and fortifications. In return for these concessions the Maharaja pays to the British Government the sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees, being the estimated expenditure on the fortress, and cedes to it, in full sovereignty, the town and fort of Jhansi, situated some seventy miles south-east of his capital. He also engages to raise no question in connection with those conditions of former treaties and engagements under which the Government, in consideration of districts assigned, is bound to maintain a certain number of troops *within Gwalior territory*, to be used in upholding his authority, should this be threatened by open revolt.

This obligation, which the Government in no way desires to evade, will still be incumbent on it; but will be more adequately fulfilled by the location of troops in favourable strategical positions on the Gwalior borders, than actually within Gwalior territory. The Maharaja admits that the Government knows from what points it can best fulfil the engagements which it freely acknowledges. There can be little doubt that the terms thus agreed upon are eminently favourable to the Maharaja, and they were intended so to be. The Viceroy and Secretary of State, who, by a happy inspiration, perceived how appropriate a reply to the loyal offers of service on the part of the ruling princes would be this proof of confidence in one of their most conspicuous representatives, did not wish to burden the gracious gift so heavily, that its advantages and the generous trust which prompted it might be obscured by a cloud of unpalatable conditions. What was essential has been secured, viz., the acquisition of a position which, from a military point of view, is stronger and more useful, both for offence and defence, than Morar; while such pecuniary compensation for the expense of

removal will be contributed as will save the Indian treasury from an inequitable and unnecessary burden.

Among the reasons which justified the restitution of the fortress, the first and most striking was the necessity of proving our good faith by fulfilling a solemn promise when the time for its fulfilment had duly come. Lord Canning had assured the Maharaja—and his words had been confirmed by Lord Lawrence—that the fort would be restored when this could safely be done; and if it could be shown to the satisfaction of the Government that the restoration could now be made, not only with safety but with advantage, it would have been dishonourable to delay the fulfilment of the promise. To keep the plighted word is incumbent upon the paramount Power; a violated promise is more disastrous to us than a lost battle, and a pledge honourably redeemed counts more than a victory.

The strategical points of India have entirely changed in the last quarter of a century, not only from the advance of Russia entailing an elaborate system of military defence on our North-west frontier, but, to a far greater degree, by the completion of railways, which have shifted the lines of communication and enabled the British army to concentrate rapidly on any particular point. Gwalior, which was formerly a situation of considerable importance, has been especially affected by railway construction. It no longer commands the Grand Trunk Road, which was the main line of communication between Bombay and Northern India; that dominant position is transferred from Gwalior to Jhansi. This important point will, on a reference to the map, be seen to constitute the extreme easterly point of Gwalior territory, to which it was added after the Mutiny, when the fort was stormed by Sir Hugh Rose's force. British territory narrows here to a little isthmus, with the independent States of Gwalior and Uruha on either side. The Jhansi fort is not, at present, of any importance, and has been allowed to fall into ruin; but it stands well above the town on a scarped rock, and is not commanded by any

neighbouring height. The town, which, like many in India, lies immediately beneath the sheltering protection of the citadel, is a flourishing, busy place, and will in a few years become an important commercial centre, for on this point a network of railways converge. First may be noticed the line now under construction, which, passing nearly due east of Jhansi, runs through the British districts of Hamirpur and Banda, and joins the East Indian Railway at Manikpur. This line was specially devised as a famine work to protect a country often afflicted by drought, and its strategical value consists in this, that, passing close to the military cantonment of Nowgong, which will be materially strengthened under proposed arrangements, it allows us to command and hold in check the whole of that wild Bundelkhand, native and British, which is now quiet and loyal enough, but which, nevertheless, is inhabited by a singularly bold and turbulent race, who have never remained long tranquil under any masters, and who in times of trouble require to be ruled with a firm hand.

Due south from Jhansi runs the Indian Midland Railway, the construction of which has been sanctioned and commenced. This line will be one of the most important in India; and this is so fully acknowledged by other and competing companies, that the opposition by which it has been so long delayed is thoroughly understood by those who are behind the scenes in railway politics. Profitable and safe as a commercial investment, it will be still more useful as a strategic line, allowing troops and war material to be forwarded without break of gauge from Bombay to Northern India, by a far quicker and nearer route than the long transit over the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, and East Indian Railway, *via* Allahabad.

North-east and north-west from Jhansi will stretch two lines, branches of the Midland Railway—one to Cawnpore, the chief commercial emporium of Northern India, with a bridge over the Jumna at Kalpi, and the other through

Gwalior to Agra, the most important political and military position in the North-west Provinces.

It will thus be seen that Jhansi will be the centre of a most interesting and commanding system of railways already in progress; while it is not unlikely that the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company may hereafter extend their line from Godra to Ruttam, and through the heart of Central India to the same point.

A division of the British army, stationed at Jhansi, will thus command the whole of the Bundelkhund and Gwalior country. It will completely secure our communications on broad-gauge lines through Central to Northern India by alternate routes to Gwalior and Cawnpore, and, in case of the Maharaja Scindia calling upon us to fulfil our obligations, and assist him in again crushing his mutinous army, two divisions simultaneously advancing from Jhansi and Agra to Gwalior, from which they are equi-distant, will be in an infinitely stronger military position than a brigade merely holding the cantonment of Morar, and requiring reinforcements before it could safely take the field.

It must be understood that, according to the highest responsible military authorities, the restoration of the fortress to Scindia necessarily implied the abandonment of the Morar cantonment, which could not be held with safety except by a very large force, if the fortifications were in other than British hands. This has been so generally admitted, that I will not attempt its discussion here.

What, then, are the advantages or disadvantages of withdrawal from Morar? In the first place, we apparently lose a large amount of capital which has been expended on this cantonment; on the other hand, we must remember that valuable districts were specially assigned by treaty for the maintenance of the Morar brigade, and that these districts remain in our hands. The loss, if a balance sheet were drawn out, would not, I fancy, be greatly against the Government.

To the unhealthiness of Morar, which has been, through long years, urged as the principal reason for its abandonment, I do not attach much importance. Probably the salubrity of the station has much increased owing to the greatly-extended growth of trees, than which there is no greater source of health in India, though pseudo-sanitary authorities unscientifically urge frequent war against them. Certainly, during the four and a half years that I have held political charge of Central India, Morar has been no more unhealthy than other British cantonments. The chief argument against retaining Morar is contained in the fact that, unless it could be shown to be a necessary check and defence against Scindia's army, it was a distinct disadvantage and a drain on our military strength, for it uselessly locked up a brigade of the British army, which, in times of emergency, was not available for service in the field.

The day has fortunately arrived in India when its princes can be treated with more confidence than in former years of intrigue and cupidity, when the policy of the British Government towards native States had not been formally announced and declared under the authority of the Queen. I know no reason that the policy of mistrust and suspicion should for ever be maintained, nor that it should be considered a wise thing for the British Government to continue to hold, as it were, a pistol to the head of Maharaja Scindia, by commanding his palace and city with British guns. No one can guarantee the continued fidelity of Scindia's army, composed of mercenaries with no special reason for loyalty to their chief, and without that constant work and severe discipline which prevent sloth from developing into mutiny. But should such an occasion unfortunately arise, the Imperial army will be amply sufficient to render the Maharaja, whose loyalty has been ever conspicuous, such assistance as he may require, and a great empire like ours must be prepared to accept risks in return for advantages, and cannot be for ever protecting itself, like a hypochondriac, against hypothetical dangers. It may be urged, as it has

been urged before, that this generous concession to Scindia will create an inconvenient precedent when claims somewhat similar may be pressed from Hyderabad, Baroda, or Indore. But the Gwalior case is altogether exceptional, and can form no reasonable precedent. If it did, the British Government, which lives and thrives on anomalies in India, is quite strong enough to disregard and despise precedent, which is often no more than a synonym for weakness.

The force of the Maharaja will be increased by a sufficient number of infantry to enable him to adequately hold the cantonment and fort, but his standing army will still be 1,000 men below the treaty limits; for there will be no increase in his artillery, and as he now only maintains four regular cavalry regiments, while he might under treaty maintain twelve, and as he has engaged not to raise additional cavalry, the force which is allowed him by treaty will not be exceeded.

The military value of the fortress of Gwalior must now be considered. This famous rock has been often described, and in most detail by the distinguished Director of Archaeology in India, Major-General Cunningham, whose monograph on the subject is careful and complete. Two years ago, Major J. B. Keith, who has been employed on the work of monumental preservation in the fort, and who has done admirable service in the scientific and discreet conservation (as opposed to the usual obnoxious restoration) of the interesting Buddhistic temples and Hindu palaces still remaining there, published an excellent guide to the fortress; and lastly, M. Louis Rousselet, in his splendid work on "India, and its Native Princes," has given a very readable account of the rock and its buildings from the artistic point of view, with many effective sketches, forming the twenty-ninth chapter of his work. To these I would refer English readers for full military, scientific, and artistic descriptions of the historical fortress, which was a seat of monarchy for many years before the Christian era, having passed by turns into the hands of Hindus,

Buddhists, Mahomedans, Mahrattas, and English; and I will not turn aside, though the temptation is great, and the subject would be interesting, to describe the buildings in the fortress, which are of the highest archæological and historical value.

The rock rises abruptly from the plain to a height of 300 feet, scarped and almost impregnable, except in two villages on the western face, which has been of late years strongly fortified. The rock itself is thus the fortress, the abrupt scarps of which form its best wall of defence. It is about two miles in length, and varies from 200 to 900 yards in width. High above it rise the famous Buddhist temples of Sas Bhao and the Teli Mandir, while the principal entrance passes beneath the walls, still decorated with beautiful encaustic tiles, of the great palace of Raja Man Singh, which is described by General Cunningham as one of the finest pieces of architecture in Northern India, and which has lately been cleared of rubbish and preserved from further decay by Major Keith's enlightened exertions.

Round the north-east base of the rock lies the ancient city of Gwalior, now almost deserted. Beyond the south-east angle stretch the extensive parks and pleasure-grounds of the Maharaja Scindia, from the midst of which rise his several palaces, some reserved for purposes of entertainment and State, and some utilised as public offices. To the south-west lies the new town of Gwalior, known as the Lushkar, which by its name, meaning "camp," significantly recalls the days when a Mahratta chief was no more than the leader of a marauding clan, who had no fixed habitation and whose tent was his home. Great Mahratta houses, like those of Scindia and Holkar, are in no way ashamed of the origin of their families, but, on the contrary, cherish and perpetuate any memorials of the days when their ancestors swept over India, overwhelming the Emperor of Delhi and the proud chiefs of Rajputana in a common ruin, until British bayonets barred the way and compelled them to fall back.

The fortress, as I have described it, commands every building in old and new Gwalior and the Maharaja's palaces. It can well be imagined with what feelings a proud and sensitive chief must have regarded the fortress, which continually frowned above his palace, and which must have seemed to tell a perpetually-recurring tale of suspicion and distrust, for it cannot be denied that for the purpose of absolutely overawing the Mahratta capital the fortress is admirably placed. But if we disregard this consideration, and disclaim the wish to maintain a position which is odious to a friendly and loyal feudatory, and if we regard the fortress solely with reference to Imperial defence and possible contingencies which may hereafter arise of war in India, or beyond its borders, or with a European Power, then the decision of the question whether the fort should be kept or surrendered is easy.

Under such circumstances the possession of the fortress would be a distinct evil and loss. Its size is so great that it could not be adequately held in time of war without a garrison so large as to seriously diminish our effective strength in the field. In these days we hear much of fortresses, fortifications, and places of refuge, and to the latter there is no objection, assuming that they are constructed in order to secure the safety of women, children, and sick in case of a sudden and local rising. But beyond this we require no fortresses in India, except at strategical points on our North-west frontier and to secure the great central arsenals. The British did not conquer India by remaining behind the walls of fortresses, and if we are beaten in the field, which, unless we degenerate, we never shall be, it will be of no avail to run like foxes or jackals into our holes.

India has been won in the open field and must there be defended and maintained, and the less we have to do with fortresses, which consume our active fighting strength, the better. Our army is too good and too small to require these luxuries of bad or indifferent soldiers. If the Gwalior fort were held in time of war by a British brigade, the

enemy would not take the trouble to besiege it. It commands no necessary line of communication, and it would be left alone with our troops shut up inside and useless. Supposing, on the other hand, that the troops of our loyal ally, the Maharaja Scindia, should act as they did in 1858 and again mutiny and seize the fortress, it will be remembered that it did not on that occasion take Sir Hugh Rose long to recover it; and although we have immensely increased its strength by fortifications, constructed within the last few years, yet the power of modern artillery has increased in far greater proportion; while no native chief in India possesses a single rifled or breech-loading gun, nor could any fort in India be held against our artillery for forty-eight hours.

The Gwalior fortress is, moreover, commanded by a hill about a mile distant, and this has always been thought by high military authorities to deprive it of its chief value; while political considerations have prevented our proposing to construct on this height such an outwork as would prevent its being turned to a hostile use. As a civilian, with no knowledge of engineering science, and possessing only a firm confidence in the fighting value of the British soldier, I have always regarded this commanding hill with some contempt, and have insisted that the difference in height between the positions was so small that British troops must indeed have lost their traditional courage if they allowed themselves to be driven from the fort by the fire of guns which they should be able to silence. I am much pleased to find that this opinion is shared by a noble field-marshal in the British army, who is intimate acquainted with the position, and whose scientific knowledge is equal to his fame as a military leader. If we were the opposite hill held by British rifled artillery, there could be no doubt that the fort would be a most unpleasant place of residence, and that no defence could long protracted.

These, then, are the main considerations

may be held to justify the withdrawal of the British forces beyond the Gwalior border, and the surrender of the fortress; though our withdrawal is not, after all, absolute: since a British detachment still remains at the cantonment of Sipri, some fifty miles south of Gwalior. Seventy miles to the south is stationed a regiment of the Central India Horse; and at Agor, in Malwa, still in Gwalior territory, is cantoned a second regiment of the same distinguished corps. There is no intention of withdrawing these regiments, the service of which within his State is desired by the Maharaja and secured by treaty. But the generous impulse of Lord Dufferin, warmly and cordially supported by the Secretary of State, has removed from the British Government in India the reproach of bad faith, and has satisfied the heartfelt and long-cherished wish of one of the most loyal feudatories of the British Crown in a manner which takes nothing from the prestige or dignity of the paramount Power, while it distinctly increases its military and political strength.

LEFEL GRIFFIN.

Gwalior, December, 1885.

THE CHRISTMAS TREE.

The Tree of Life,

The middle tree, and highest there that grew.

MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 194, 195.

ONLY during the past thirty or forty years has the custom become prevalent in England of employing "the Christmas Tree" as an appropriate decoration, and a most delightful vehicle for showering down gifts upon the young, in connection with domestic and public popular celebrations of the joyous ecclesiastical Festival of the Nativity. It is said to have been introduced among us from Germany, where it is regarded as indigenous, and it is probably a survival of some observance connected with the pagan Saturnalia of the winter solstice, to supersede which the Church, about the fifth century of our era, instituted Christmas Day. It has, indeed, been explained as being derived from the ancient Egyptian practice of decking houses at the time of the winter solstice with branches of the date palm, the symbol of life triumphant over death, and therefore of perennial life in the renewal of each bounteous year: and the supporters of this suggestion point to the fact that pyramids of green paper, covered all over with wreaths and festoons of flowers, and strings of sweetmeats, and other presents for children, are often substituted in Germany for "the Christmas Tree." But similar pyramids, together with similar trees, the latter

* Cassel, P. *Weihnachten, Ursprunge, Bräuche u. Aberglauben*, Berlin, 1865. 8vo.

† It is said in Cassell's *Household Guide*, vol. i. p. 151, to have been first introduced into England in the household of George IV. by a German servant of Queen Caroline's. Reference is also made in this work to a tree of gold which was set before Henry VIII. during some Christmas pageants at Richmond.

usually altogether artificial, and often constructed of the costliest materials, even of gems and gold, are carried about at marriage ceremonies in India, and at many festivals, such as the Hoolee, or annual festival of the vernal equinox. These pyramids represent Mount Meru, and the earth; and the trees, the Kalpadruma, or "Tree of Ages," and the fragrant Parajita, the Tree of Every Perfect Gift, which grow on the slopes of Mount Meru; and in their enlarged sense they symbolise the splendour of the outstretched heavens, as of a tree, laden with golden fruit, deep-rooted in the earth. Both pyramids and trees are also phallic emblems of life individual, terrestrial, and celestial. Therefore if a relationship exists between the Egyptian practice of decking houses at the winter solstice with branches of the date palm, and the German and English custom of using gift-bearing and brilliantly illuminated evergreen trees, which are nearly always firs, as a Christmas decoration, it is most probably due to collateral rather than to direct descent; and this is indicated by the Egyptians having regarded the date palm not only as an emblem of immortality, but also of the star-lit firmament.

The Hindus derive the origin of their race from *Ida-varsha*, the "enclosure," or "garden of *Ida*," the wife of *Manu*, and mother of mankind. Here they place their *Olympus*, the fabulous Mount Meru, the centre and highest point of the earth, and support and pivot of the heavens. Its slopes collect the celestial Ganges, the dews and rains of heaven, and pour them into the lake *Manasa-sarovara*, "the most excellent lake of the Spirit," the source of the terrestrial Ganges, and the latter, as it circles seven times round Mount Meru, forms the four separate lakes from which the four rivers of *Ida-varsha* flow out into the four quarters of the world; and it is about the sources of these four rivers that the Hindus place the sacred Kalpadruma and Parajita trees already mentioned. Mount Meru, regarded literally, may be localised in the Himalayan regions about the Pamir Steppe, but it is

quite impossible to identify the Kalpadruma and Parajita trees with any known botanical species, and they are merely mythical Trees of Life, the idea of which was suggested by the primitive worship of trees as phallic divinities.

The traditions of the ancient Persians* place the scene of the creation of man in the Aryana-Vaego. In the first Fargard of the Vendidad it is the first named of the sixteen good lands, said to have been created by Ormazd, and afterwards cursed by Ahriman. In the second Fargard it is described as the country of the first man, "the fair Yima." Under his golden rule, 300 winters passed away therein, when, being warned that it had become full of the red-blazing fires of human homes, and herds and flocks, he, with the assistance of "the Genius of the Earth," extended its size to one-third more than it was at the first. Thus another 300 years passed away, after which he again enlarged it by another third. This process was again twice repeated, after a period of 300 years each time, until the Aryana-Vaego had become double its original size. Then Ormazd called all the celestial gods together, and the fair Yima with them, and warned them that there were about to fall on the earth "the fatal winters" of fierce, foul frosts, and "snow fourteen fingers deep," before which all the beasts would perish, alike those grazing in the plains, and those that fed in the bosom of the dales, and those that were sheltered in stables. Therefore, Yima was directed to make a four-square *vart*, or "enclosure," two miles long on each side, and to bring into it "the seeds of men and women," "the greatest, best, and finest on the earth," and of fire, and of sheep, and oxen, and dogs, and to settle them by the green banks of the fountains of living waters that sprang up within the *vart*, and to establish therein the dwelling-places of men. All this the fair Yima did, and then he sealed up the *vart* with a golden ring, and

* "Sacred Books of the East," edited by Professor Max Müller, vol. iv. ; "The Zend-Avesta," part i. ; "The Vendidad," translated by Professor James Darmestetter, Oxford, 1880.

made a door to it, and a window, "self-shining within." None that was deformed, diseased, or a lunatic, or that was imbecile, or impotent, or a liar, or that bore any of "the brands of Ahriman," might enter into it. But the men and women in the *varu* lived the happiest life, and they never died. In the Zend-Avesta references are also made to the Hara-Berezaiti, the heavenly mountain of Aryana-Vaego, upon which the crystalline expanse of the heaven⁹ rests, and where the sun rises; and to the bridge Kinvad, "the Straight" [Sirat], "the brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread," which stretches from the Hara-Berezaiti over hell to heaven; and to the Tree of Healing and Immortality, "the White Homa Tree," which is also called Gaokerena, that grows by the head-springs of the Ardisura fountain; and to the two rivers, the Arvand and the Daitya, which flow from this lake, and replenish all the rivers and seas of the earth. According to the later Pehlvi texts, on the White Homa tree sits the Sæna bird [Simurg], and shakes down from it the seeds of life, which, as they fall, are at once seen by the bird Kamros, as it watches for them from the top of the Hara-Berezaiti mountain, and are carried off by it, and scattered far and wide over the world. The tree is protected by ten fish-like monsters, having their dwelling in the Ardisura lake.

In these details we have the same mixture of mythical and actual geography, as in the Puranic descriptions of the *Ida-varsha*. Thus the Aryana-Vaego, although it refers to the original starting-place of the Iranian Aryas in Central Asia, is also an ideal country, which is in some of its aspects the earthly Paradise, and in others an Elysium, ruled over by Yima, who, as the first of men to die, is also the personification of Death. Among the Persians he always remained as Death, the first fair flower of humanity gathered by the grave, the gentle king of the sinless dead; but in Hindu mythology he becomes deformed into the terrible Yama, the god of judgment and hell. The Aryana-Vaego, therefore, is at once the original seat of the Iranian Aryas,

in High Asia, the Elysium of their departed ancestors, and the legendary Eden of the Aryan, and, indeed, of all the Caucasian races. The White Homa tree has always been botanically identified with the *Sarcostemma viminale*, or Soma plant, and I have always also included under it both the vine and the date palm; but in its highest significance it is, like the Kalpadruma and Parajita trees, the poetical symbol of cosmical life. The original Hara-Berezaiti, and Arvand, and Daitya rivers must be identified with the Hindoo Koosh or Paraponisus range, and some of the streams flowing from it; but their names, like that of Mount Olympus, reappear again and again, variously modified, in the course of Aryan migration westward; that of the Arvand river being found as an appellation of the Elwand mountain, the Mount Orontes of classical geography in Media, and of the river Orontes in Syria. The Hara-Berezaiti mountain, both in this primitive form of its name, and the later form of Alborj, has undergone still more frequent displacements from east to west; its name having been successively attached to the Elburz mountains east of the Caspian Sea, to the Elburz mountains south of the Caspian, and to the Elburz mountains of the Caucasus. In the Assyrian inscriptions it is attached, in the slightly altered form of Ailabria, to the Gordyazan, or Kurdish mountains, and it is on the latter, under the name of Lubar, that St. Epiphanius places Noah's Ark. The name of Baris, assigned by Nicholas Damascenus to Mount 'Masis' [Aghridagh] in Armenia, usually identified by Christian writers with the *Hara-Ararat* ["the mountain of Ararat"] of Genesis viii. 4, on which, according to the Bible, Noah's Ark rested after the Deluge, is supposed to be a direct corruption of Berezaiti. This primitive Iranian name certainly appears almost unaltered in that of Mount Berecynthus in Phrygia, the abode of the great Earth-Mother, Rhea-Cybele. And wherever it travelled and became fixed, there we may be sure was carried and planted the ever-green legend of "the Tree of Life."

The legends of the Norse people, or Aryas of Northern Europe, also point to the colossal circle of the Caucasian range, stretching from the confines of China to the shores of the Black Sea, and beyond them until it ends at Cape Finisterre, in Spain, and the Atlas Mountains of Marocco, as the earliest cradle* of the human race; for Börr, who in their primitive mythology is the common progenitor of gods and men, is but a personification of these mountains. As-gard, the "Gods'-ward," while mythologically the starry firmament ["*flammanntia mœnia mundi*," "the Citadel of Cronos"] is geographically and historically Azov, "the ward of the Asir." The Norse Olympus rises from the centre of Mid-gard, "the Middle-ward," the residence of mankind, which is separated by the circumfluent ocean stream from Ut-gard, the "Outer-ward" of the Jotuns or "Giants." Below Mid-gard is the shadowy underground world of the dead, Niflheim. From the centre of Mid-gard and the summit of As-gard springs the ash-tree Yggdrasil, with branches spreading out over the whole earth, and reaching above the highest heavens, and three great roots going down into lowest hell, where lies coiled round them the serpent Nidhëgg, "the Gnawer," Death, which, like the serpent Amunta of the seventh hell of the Hindus beneath Mount Meru, typifies not only death, but the subterranean volcanic forces by which the destruction of the world itself is ever threatened. Here, the paradisaical Yggdrasil is transparently a symbol of the universal life and glory of Nature.

The inhabitants of Mid-gard are said to have been created by Odin and his brothers Wili and Wi, from two pieces of wood, one of ash, and the other of elm, the first of which was changed into a man called Askar, *i.e.*, Ash, and the second into a woman called Embla, *i.e.*, Elm. It will be remembered that the Greeks derived "the

* That is, earliest within the memory of man; for we must distinguish between the several historical Edens, and the ethnographical centre, or centres, of the evolution of the human species.

third race of men," who may be identified with the Aryas of the Bronze Age of Europe,* "from the ash-tree" [*ἀπὸ μέλαινα*, Hesiod, "Works and Days," 145]. They also made the Caucasus mountains "the midmost part of the earth," "the beginning and the end of all things" [Hesiod, "Theogony," 738] the seat of the punishment of Prometheus, the son of Iapetus or Japheth, the mythical leader of the Aryan immigration into Europe.† Mount Olympus in Thessaly was the abode of the gods of Greece, according to Homer, and until the later poets translated them to the sky; but wherever the Greeks went they carried with them the name of this mountain, localising it in Bithynia, Mysia, Lycia, Lesbos, Thessaly, Elis, Laconia, and Cyprus; thus also unconsciously associating the original habitat of their race with some alpine region at the initial point of the line of their exodus from the East.

The Semitic traditions ‡ differ from the Aryan in distinguishing between the birthplace of the human race, Gan-Eden, "the Garden of Eden," and the mountain on which Noah's Ark, containing the forefathers of the renewed human race, rested after the Deluge. Every tree pleasant to be seen and useful for food grew therein, and "the Tree of Life," and the "Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil." It was watered by a river, which, after flowing through Eden, was parted into four heads. There can be no question of Sir Henry Rawlinson's identification of the Eden of Genesis ii. with the Gin-Dunish of an inscription of Assurbanipal or Sardanapalus, *circa* B.C. 668-40; that is, with the country surrounding the city of Babylon, watered by the Pallacopas [Pishon], Shat-el Nil [Gihon], Tigris [Hid-

* "Their houses brass, of brass the warlike blade,
Iron was not yet known, in brass they trade."

HESIOD'S *Works and Days*, translated by Cooke.

† Of course Prometheus is a sun god also, and, therefore, naturally associated with the Caucasus mountains, as the starting-point, viewed from the west, of the sun's daily course round the globe.

‡ *Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible*, par F. Lenormant.

dekel], and Euphrates [Perath].* This district was familiarly known to the Babylonians as Gan-Dunias, "the garden of (the god) Dunias;" and the city of Babylon itself was known also by the name of Dintira, or Tintira, "the Divine Tree;" as the counterpart of the cosmic "Tree of Life," so often represented guarded by a cherub on either side, on Babylonian gems and the "Nineveh marbles." More recently Sir Henry Rawlinson has identified the special

* It is deeply interesting to find that, just as the Hindus try to reproduce Mount Meru everywhere, and in almost everything, so the Jews would seem to have endeavoured to repeat the geography of the fabled Eden in the plan of the city of Jerusalem, which was regarded by them as the centre of the earth [Ezekiel v. 5]. The city was watered by four streams, one of which always continued to be called Gihon [1 Kings i. 33, 38], and they were reputed to issue, through underground channels, from the fountains of fresh water beneath the Temple, to which the Jews attached the highest sanctity [Ezekiel xlvii. 1—12, Joel iii. 18, Zechariah xiii. 1, and xiv. 8]. This sacred spring was associated, like the mythical Ganges, and Arvand and Daitya, with a mountain the Jews called Moriah, which Lenormant, following the generally hazardous guidance of Willford, has not hesitated to identify with Mount Meru. Milton includes an anonymous mountain in his description of the Garden of Eden, "*Paradise Lost*," iv. 223—235:—

"Southward through Eden went a river large,
Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill
Passed underneath engulfed; for God had thrown
That mountain, as His garden mound high raised
Upon the rapid current, which through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirst updrawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill,
Watered the garden, thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood
Which from his darksome passage now appears,
And now divided into four main streams,
Run diverse, wandering many a famous realm,
And country, whereof here needs no account."

On this passage Bishop Newton observes: "The river that watered the Garden of Eden was, we think, the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, and this river was parted into four main streams or rivers; two above the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris, before they are joined, and two below the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris, after they are joined again." This is the very conclusion forced on us by modern topographical discovery in Mesopotamia; and that Newton should have so exactly anticipated it shows the great value of holding on hard by tradition in the investigation of such obscure questions of the archaic history of mankind.

spot in which the terrestrial site of "the Tree of Life" was originally localised with the town of Eridu, the oldest seat of the worship of the Akkadian earth-god Enki, the Assyro-Babylonian Hea.* Nevertheless it is evident that the Garden of Eden is also the same mythical paradise as the Ida-varsha of the Hindus, the Aryana-Vaego of the Iranian Persians, and the Asgard of the Norse, which was localised in Mesopotamia by the Semites, as long before them by the Hamitic race, after they had forgotten their primordial Caucasian home in High Asia, or preserved the memory of it only in the tradition of a fabulous garden, watered by a heavenly fountain, the source of all earthly streams. Then, as the Semites overspread Anterior Asia, and their survey of the countries surrounding them was enlarged, their conception of Gan-Eden was extended, like that of the Hindu of Meru, over the whole habitable world known to them, as encircled by the Oxus-Indus or Pishon, and the Nile-Indus or Gihon, and traversed by the Tigris and Euphrates.

Assyriological science, of which, in succession to its illustrious founder, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Sayce, the brilliant Deputy-Professor of Philology at Oxford, is now the active exponent, has demonstrated in the fullest detail that the Biblical myth of Eden was borrowed from the cuneiform, brick-inscribed literature of the Akkads, or primitive Chaldæans, a Scythian or Turanian people allied to the modern Turks, who, if they were not the actual aborigines of Lower Mesopotamia, were the first to establish themselves in that country during the period of the universal preponderance of the Scythians in Anterior Asia, and to lay there the foundation of the characteristic

* The neighbourhood of Kurnah, at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates in the Shat-el-Arab, about 100 miles from the head of the Persian Gulf, has always been regarded by its present Arab inhabitants as the site of the terrestrial Paradise (Persian *ferdous*, "a garden," Sanscrit *para-desa*, "far country"—of fancy); a remarkable proof of the credibility of the historical traditions of the immutable East.

Hamito-Semitic culture of the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, to which the religion and the arts of Europe are more directly, and far more intimately indebted, than even to the civilisation of ancient Egypt. The Hebrews were probably vaguely acquainted with the myth from the time when Abraham went forth from "Ur of the Chaldees," "to go into the land of Canaan," and after the Captivity they must have become thoroughly familiarised with it.

Monotheism is, indeed, conjectured to have originated among the earlier Semitic immigrants into Chaldæa, who settled in the city of Eridu; whence it is supposed to have been communicated to the Iranian Aryas of Persia in the east, and is known to have been carried westward into Syria by the Jews, through the instrumentality of whose Sacred Scriptures it has become naturalised over all Christendom and Islam. If therefore Eridu was the original seat in Mesopotamia of the monotheistic sect of primitive Semites, their descendants, including the Hebrews, might well, for that reason alone, have for ever associated the place with the primæval Paradise of the human race.

But, long anterior to the advent of the Semites in Eridu, it would seem to have been the centre of worship of the Akkadian earth-god Enki [Earth], called Hea by the Assyrians and Babylonians, who was also the double personification of the prehistoric introduction of civilisation into Mesopotamia, and of the sun in his southern course through the Indian Ocean; just as Dionysos, "the Assyrian stranger," is the double personification of the westward course of the sun, and of Phœnician commerce and Chaldeo-Assyrian civilisation, through the Mediterranean Sea. He was the great "deus avertendus" of the Chaldæans, who alone possessed the dread secret of the incommunicable name of "the great gods" of the seven planetary spheres, the mere threat of the utterance of which compelled the submission of the whole impious array of the demoniacal spirits of the underground world. As "Lord of the World" his wife is

Davkina, a female deification of the earth ; as " Lord of the Abyss [*absu*]," and the " Lord of Sailors," his wife is the goddess Bahu, *i.e.* Chaos, [*bohu* of Genesis i.], while as " Lord of the Great Land," *i.e.* Hades, the land of the dead, he is associated with the goddess Mylitta or Ishtar, under her chthonian title of Ninkegal. Like Dagon, the fish-god of the Philistines, he is represented as a merman ; and also as sailing with all " the great gods," in a glorious ark of cedar wood, over the black water of the traditional Deluge, a myth, as I believe, of the South West Monsoon of the Indian Ocean.

His attributes are the Arrow Head, symbolising the invention of cuneiform writing, ascribed to him ; the Serpent, symbolising his general civilising influence, which was worshipped in the garden at Eridu in connection with " the Tree of Life ;" and the Disc of fifty fiery spokes, obviously derived from his obsolete character as a sun god ; and which recalls to mind the *chakra* of the Hindu gods, and " the flaming sword " of the cherubim of the Biblical account of the Garden of Eden, " which turned every way, to keep the way of the Tree of Life."

On the Assyrian sculptures the sacred Tree of Life is associated also with the symbols of Asshur, who gave his name, or took it from, Asshur, now Kilah Sherghat, the first capital of the Assyrians. He was originally no more than the eponymous progenitor of their race, the second son of Shem, but was afterwards identified by them with the supreme God Il [*Allah*] of the Babylonians, and substituted for him as head of the official pantheon of Assyria. He is usually figured in the form either of the winged solar disc, [" the Sun of righteousness with healing in his wings " Malachi iv. 2], or a dove, the prolific white dove of Syria, a universally recognised symbol of the active, generative reproductive power of Nature, in the form of which the Almighty is still believed throughout Anterior Asia to manifest Himself.

Frequently the sun is represented as shining down

upon, or the dove as overshadowing, the *ashera* ["grove" of Old Testament], or conventional representation of the Tree of Life; which, in this connection, is supposed to typify the goddess Nana, Mylitta, or Ishtar, the common wife of all the Assyrian and Babylonian gods, rather than Sheruba the shadowy special consort of Asshur. She was the only goddess known to the original Akkadians; the universal Earth-Mother, by whose divisional deification, and duodecimal distribution, the Assyrians and Babylonians, who were very uxorious in their notions, managed to provide a separate wife for each of their twelve greater gods; but Nana always remained among the pagan Semites of Anterior Asia, the highest, and only really individualised personification of the passive, or receptive reproductive power of Nature, into which all the other goddesses, formed by the merely nominal reduplication of herself, are at once resolvable. She is regent of "the brilliant star" Venus, and, as her proper self, of the month Ululu, August-September, of which the Akkadian sign was the Virgin. Friday also, the seventh day of the Akkadian week, was especially sacred to her, and to marriage, over the rites of which she [cf. Lucina of Romans and Ilithyia of Greeks] presided; for which reasons the early Christians made this day accursed and of evil omen, a superstition still carefully observed among the seafaring populations of the Mediterranean, by whom, in archaic times, she was regarded as their "divinest patroness and midwife." As the planet Venus appears sometimes as "the morning star," and sometimes as "the evening star," so she was correspondingly distinguished by the Assyrians as "Ishtar of Arbela," "the Goddess of War," and "Ishtar of Nineveh," "the Goddess of Love." In her chthonian aspects she is the Assyrian Allat ["goddess"], after whom Queen Dido is called Elissa [Eliza]. Indeed, the story of Dido, whose sister, Anna, became deified among the Romans under the name of Anna

Perenna,* is supposed to be a myth of the introduction of the worship of Venus into Italy. She is also the Arabian Venus, called by Herodotus Alitta and Alilat, and by the modern Arabians *al Lat*, who, with the goddesses *al Uzza* ["the Mighty One"], and Manat "the three daughters of God," was worshipped in Arabia, before the time of Mahomed, under the various forms of graven images and phallic stones and trees; and it is not impossible that the *stambhas*, or inscribed "posts," presumptively of phallic origin, set up by the Buddhists in ancient India, and now represented by the *dipdams*, or "lustral" columns placed before Hindu temples, may have derived their more usual name of *lat*, "a pillar," from the Arabian goddess Alilat. The Mahomedans have always identified the phallic stone [*lingam*] destroyed by Mahmoud of Ghazni at Somnath, A.D. 1024, with the goddess Lat of Arabia. In the East, Nana or Ishtar is again the Phœnician Astarte, the Canaanitish Ashtoreth, so often named in the Old Testament in connection with the *asherah* [in plural *asherim*], or conventional image of the Tree of Life, and the Atargatis of the Phœnicians, whose worship was diffused by them all over Asia Minor; where the priestesses who served her in her double capacity of "Goddess of War" and "Queen of Love," were the martial courtesans known to the Greeks as the mythical Amazons. Their name is usually said to be compounded of a privative and *μαστός* "the breast," because according to the professed explanation of this absurd etymology, they deprived themselves of the right breast, that it might not interfere with the use of the bow. But more probably it was derived from the endearing Aramaic title of *Um* or *Umu*, given

* Anna Purna [literally, "Full of Food"] is one of the names of the Hindu Earth-Mother Parvati [literally the "Mountaineer"], as the provider of food.

† Compare Uzziel ["the Mighty One of God"], the Archangel, next in rank, in Semitic angelology, to Raphael.

generally to the consorts of the Assyro-Babylonian gods, and particularly to Nana, or Ishtar, who was worshipped under this very appellation, as Um-Uruk, "the [chthonian] Mother of Uruk," at Erech, the great necropolis of Chaldæa, and in its Aryan [Iranian] form of Ma-bog, "Mother of the Gods," at Hierapolis; or Bambyce, now Balbec, in Syria, and of simply Ma, "the Mother," at Komana in Cappadocia, and Pessinus in Phrygia. Her Amazons may be compared with the Ambubaia, or Syrian dancing girls of the Roman circus, and with the Bayaderes, or dancing girls of the sacred* Basvi, Bhavin, and Mahari castes in India, whose amazonian character I pointed out in the "Handbook to the British-Indian Section of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878." About 500 B.C., Nana was introduced into the pantheon of the corrupted Zoroastrianism of Persia under the name of Thanata, Anæa, or Nanæa, the Anaitis of the Greeks; and the statue of her at Cnidos, by Praxiteles, was regarded by antiquity as the masterpiece of the sculptor. The eastward extension of her worship under the Achæmenian kings of Persia is indicated by such names of places as, for instance, of the Afghan town of Bebi-Nani, *i.e.*, of "Our Lady Venus." We have a yet more interesting proof of the ancient prevalence of her worship in the West, in the Greek comedy of *Náunon*, by Eubulus [*circa* B.C. 37], so-called after its heroine, a courtesan, that is, in the original meaning of the word, a priestess of Nana. Nana or Ishtar was, in fact, the ubiquitous "Asiatic Goddess," the great "Dea Syria," "Dea Phrygia," "Pessinuntia," "Berecynthia," "Mater Dindymene," "Idæa Mater," and "Bona Dea," of the Greeks and Romans, called also Ops, and Rhea, and Cybele †—

* Not of the secular Ramjani, Kanchani, and Naikan classes.

† "Mater cultrix Cybele" [*Æneid* iii. 111]; "Alma Cybele" [*x.* 220]

"Alma parens Idæa Deüm, cui Dindyma coruli,
Turritæque urbes, bijugæque ad freno leonæ."

[*Æneid*. x. 252-3].

"Renown'd for fruits of famous progenie,
Whose greatness by the greatness of none other,
But by herselfe her equall match could see."

She is also historically identified with the Aphrodite of Paphos and of Cnidos, and the Artemis of Ephesus; while in certain of her aspects she would seem to resemble Athene. Her name of Rhea is said to be the Assyrian word *ri*, for her sacred number, 15. Cybele, I believe, means simply "the Great" goddess [cf. *al Kabir*, "the Great," the thirty-seventh of the ninety-nine Mahomedan names of God]. The mysterious Cabeiri associated with her rites are, in my opinion, "the great gods" of the seven planetary spheres reduced to little talismanic figures (cf. *nanior* and *nanus*), similar to those of the *Dii Majorum Gentium* and *Dii Selecti*, seen in any Hindu temple, set round the great image of the god or goddess to which it is more particularly dedicated.

The most ancient representations of her are as a naked woman with a child in her arms, and it may be conjectured that the sublime vision in the Book of Revelation [ch. xii.] of the woman clothed with the sun and moon, and crowned with the twelve stars—"the twelve towers—phallic—[cf. *στοιχεῖα*, "uprights," "first principles"] of the Zodiac" of the Arabs,—was inspired by this conception of Ishtar as the divine Mother of Nature. By the Phœnicians she was represented as a robed goddess, with four wings, and a conical or a turreted hat on her head, and generally with a dove, either held in her hand, or perched on her shoulder. Sometimes she would appear, as in Arabia, to have been symbolised simply by the acacia tree, or rude phallic stones; and, judging from my own observation in India, I have no doubt that such were the forms under which she, and Il, and Asshur, and the rest of the pagan Semitic pantheon, were first worshipped in Mesopotamia, and in which the conventional Tree of Life [*asherah*] of Chaldeo-Babylonian and Assyro-Phœnician religion and art originated.

Among all races religion, or the sense of Divinity in Nature, exhibits itself at first in those degraded forms of polytheism which are generically described by ethnologists under the term of animism, or the worship of the telluric powers of the upper [terrestrial] and lower [chthonian] earth; and it never rises above this low nature worship among races permanently arrested in their mental growth, although animism seems to possess in itself the power of indefinite development, being, indeed, the source of every known system of religion, whether polytheistical or monotheistical. Within also the proper limits of its arbitrary definition it assumes many shapes, such as fetichism, atavism, and phallicism. Fetichism is the worship by incantations, enchantments, and fairie (*fari*, to speak; *fatum*, the word spoken, fate), that is, by the intoning of magical formulæ, of any natural or artificial object, under the conviction that the spirits imagined to inhabit them, or rather to be identified with them, can thereby be compelled to comply with the wishes of the worshipper. It is, strictly speaking, a system of sacramental conjuring, which still flourishes among the negroes, and the Mongols, or Black Tartars, of North-eastern Asia, and was the primitive religion of Chaldaea. Atavism is the worship of ancestors, as illustrated by the worship of patriarchs, founders, and heroes (Euhemerism) by the Greeks, of the domestic Lar by the Romans, the *pitris* and *prajapatis* [Penates, Patrique dii] of the Hindus, the *teraphim* of the Hebrews [Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34, and elsewhere throughout the Old Testament], and of *totems*, or representative family animals, by the Red Indians. At first atavism was, as it still remains among the Red Indians, a debased magical system of divination by means of visionary communion with the dead, or necromancy* specifically; but among the Aryas

* From the corrupt spelling of which word [compounded of νεκρός, a corpse, and μαντεία, prophetic power], as negromantia, we get, by translation, the phrase, "black art."

it gradually passed into a comparatively pure service rendered to graven and molten images, or idolatry proper; while among the Semites it became insensibly sublimed into the most uncompromising spiritual monotheism. The very name applied to the Deity by the Hebrews to distinguish Him, as the term *elohim** [gods] could not, as the one true God, and which they never within their historical memory applied to any false god, although during the period of their earlier kings they used it henotheistically,† and not absolutely monotheistically, and, after the Captivity, held so sacred that they never pronounced it, always substituting for it, when reading their Sacred Scriptures, the word *Adonai*, "the Lord;" this "separating name," this terrible name of "Jehovah," would now appear to have been transmitted to them from that of the family *teraph*, or *totem*, of the tribe of Joseph and the house of Moses. In many of the armorial bearings and charges of noble European families we have, on the other hand, examples of the survival of *totems* as mere heraldic marks.

Phallicism, which grew up inevitably from fetichism and atavism, and which, in many of its aspects, is identical with atavism, is the worship of the vital, active and passive procreative principles of nature, under figures furnished by the rudest stones, by mountains and valleys, by trees, and serpents, by the sun, and by the poetical figment, common to all the Caucasian races, of the Tree of Life.

* Where in the English Authorised Version of the Bible the word God is used, the original Hebrew has *elohim*, "gods." This false translation, which is followed in the Revised Version, is excused on the pretence *elohim* being the "plural of majesty;" an explanation which is utterly untenable, at least in all the earlier Biblical instances of the use of the word.

† A word, I believe, first used in Max Müller's "Hibbert Lecture," compounded of *el* (genitive of *el*) one, and *ba*, God, and signifying the worship of one God for oneself, without denying the validity of the god or gods worshipped by other nations. And it is clear that for a long time the Jews regarded *Yahweh* simply as the God of Israel, in contradistinction to Moloch the abomination of the Ammonites, and Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians, and Chemosh the obscure dread of Moab.

Among these Caucasian races the low animist worship of the visible world was raised to the higher worship of Nature, the two principal forms of which are the earlier, or sabaism [from *saba*, "an host"—of heaven], the worship of the seven planets, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and the host of heaven generally, which originated with the study of astronomy among the Hamites and Semites of Chaldaea, the special stronghold in ancient times, as China is in modern, of sabaism; and the later, or polytheism, the worship of personifications of the phenomena of nature, that is, of "many gods." The latter is specifically idolatry, or the sacramental dramatisation of nature, and the intuitive religion of the Aryan races. In the hymns of the Vedas, we see it passing from its simpler forms of direct worship of phenomena, to the deification of the very adjectives [on the principle of "*nomen numen*"] qualifying them. In the perfected polytheism of the Greeks, these deities, invested with all the thoughts, passions, and actions of human beings, are almost completely dis severed from the phenomena they impersonate, and in the immortal beauty in which they live in the poetry of Homer, and the sculpture of Phidias and Praxiteles, will remain gods for evermore.

Monotheism, the final and most elevated expression of religious feeling, is the worship of a universally postulated Supreme Being:—

" Father of all !, in every age,
In every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord."

The minds of individual men of exceptional powers of generalisation must, indeed, from the beginning, have been lighted up, as if by a supernatural illumination, with some glimmering recognition of the unity of God. Polytheism, with its hierarchies of "gods many and lords many," of itself suggest the idea of some one superior god, to which the rest are subordinate, and, particularly, when characterised by the predominating worship of a Sun-

God, into which, in every polytheistical system, all the other gods at last become resolved; after the manner of the resolution of every female deity into one all-absorbing Earth-Mother. We are thus enabled largely to explain the inextricable mixture of monotheistic doctrines with even the most rudimentary forms of polytheism; and, in fact, the majority of polytheistical divinities are found to be co-extensive in their mythology with the entire range of the religious conceptions of mankind, being at once mere fetiche stocks and stones, astral and phenomenal impersonations or idols, and more or less pure and beautiful symbols of the eternally self-existing First Cause of all things. From this point of view, indeed, polytheism might well be regarded as a practical application of monotheism, if not a degradation from it; and as justifying in some measure the orthodox theological dogma of an original revelation of monotheism to mankind, in the generations of Seth [Genesis iv. 26]. But modern ethnography has almost conclusively demonstrated that the human race, regarded collectively, has in reality been led very gradually through animism, sabaism, and polytheism up to monotheism. Judaism does not afford any exception to this law of nature; for it was only through the most painful experiences, and by very slow degrees, that the Hebrews arrived at the conception of the spiritual nature of God, and as a nation they do not appear to have completely attained to it until after the Captivity. The existence of atavism among them, in the patriarchal age of their history, has already been alluded to, and, with other forms of animism, it continued to subsist, and indeed prevail, in both Judah and Israel to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. When Jacob took the stone on which he slept on his way from Beersheba to Haran, and set it up on end for a pillar, and poured oil on the top, and called it Beth-el, "the house of God," he performed a distinct act of phallic worship, such as may still be witnessed every day in India; although in his case it may possibly have already

been merging into the worship of the one true God. Seven hundred years later we find that Absalom, not having "a son to keep his name in remembrance," "reared up for himself a pillar which is in the King's dale" [*Shah-oah*], and called the pillar after his own name; just as to this day, in India, a wealthy Hindu, if certain of being sonless, will set up and endow a *lingam* named after himself, or his father, in perpetual witness of the family stock [stirps] and kin [gens]. Even Moses, the reputed author of the Decalogue, when the Israelites were plagued with fiery flying serpents in the wilderness, made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole. It was a solar-phallic emblem, set upon a Priapian pole, a combination of symbols constantly occurring in the serpent-worship of India. Sometimes it is the image of the disc of the sun, featured after the face of a man, which surmounts the supporting staff, and it was probably in such rude phallic posts and props [cf. *ἱππο, Kiow, στεινός*] that statuary everywhere originated. The serpent of Moses was an object of worship at Jerusalem down to the eighth century a.c., when it was destroyed by King Hezekiah, who derided it under the nickname of Nehustan, that is "Brummagem." The Old Testament also bears witness to the enduring vitality of phallicism among the Hebrews in its frequent references to "high places," "groves" [*asherah*, pl: *asherim*, or conventional images of the Chaldaean Tree of Life], "oracles," and votive "pillars"; and, so late as the sixth century a.c., Ezekiel [xx. 28, 29] is found reproaching them for still presenting the provocation of their obscene offerings to "every high hill" and "all the thick trees." Notable trees are always associated with the phallic pillars* and hills mentioned in the Bible, just as in all other records. Thus, Joshua [xxiv. 26] set up the stone which was to bear witness to the covenant between Israel and "God" [literally, "the gods"], under the famous oak at Sichem [Genesis xxxv. 4], to be known

* Compare collis, columen, culmen, and also the word columna as used by Martial, vi. 49.

thereafter as "the oak of the pillar" (Judges ix. 6), and "the oak grove of enchantments" [Judges ix. 37, where the English text of the Authorised Version has "plain of Meonenim," and the margin "the regards of times" and seasons, *i.e.*, astrologers]. *Allah* is the Hebrew word in Joshua xxiv. 6, translated in the English Bible by "oak"; and it is the same word as occurs in Joshua xix. 26, and left untranslated in the Authorised Version, as the name of a place, *Alammelech*, *i.e.*, "the Royal Oaks." In Genesis xxxv. 4, the Hebrew word translated "oak" is *elah*, which is rendered by "oak" also in Judges vi. 11, 2 Samuel xviii. 14, 1 Kings xiii. 14, 1 Chron. x. 12, and Ezekiel vi. 13; by "elm" in Hosea iv. 13; by "teal-tree" in Isaiah vi. 13; and by "plain" in Genesis xiii. 18. It is used also untranslated as a proper name: "Valley of Elah" in 1 Samuel xvii. 2 and 19, and xxi. 9. The word is supposed to really everywhere mean the terebinth tree, and is so translated by the Septuagint. On the other hand the Hebrew *allon* of Joshua ix. 6, translated by "plain," and of Genesis xxxv. 8, where it is translated by "oak," is like *allah* undoubtedly the oak; and, as the *allon* of Joshua ix. 6 would appear to refer to the same tree as is indicated by the Hebrew *elah* in Genesis xxxv. 4, great uncertainty is felt as to whether the oak or the terebinth is meant by the Hebrew word *elah* wherever it occurs in the Old Testament. But the interesting point, which I believe has not before been remarked by any English writer, is that all these words, *allah*, *elah*, and *allon*, and the other Hebrew words *el*, *ilon*, and *elan*, translated in the English Bible (A.V.) by the words "oak," "plain," and "tree," are all really one word, formed from the same root as the words *el*, *eloah* (Arabic *Allah*), "God," and *elohim*, "gods"; and it is just possible that, as used in the Bible, they are not meant, or were not originally, to distinguish the trees indicated by them botanically, but simply as holy objects, the groves of the autochthonous gods, and, indeed, the local gods themselves, of the places where they grew up, which became remarkable by their presence,

and the centres of the phallic worship the broad shadows of these trees attracted; and, thenceforward, in every country, the centres also of its special religious and artistic culture. This is probably how Hellenic culture grew up round the oak groves of the dale of Dodona, and in the shelter of the pine woods of Mount Olympus; and how the Scytho-Semitic civilisation of Chaldæa and Assyria and Babylonia had its beginnings at Eridu, under the date-trees which still wave in perennial verdure over the Tigris and Euphrates, at the auspicious confluence of these "waters of Babylon" in the Shat-el-Arab.

These date-trees are the antitypes of the Akkadian mystical Tree of Life; and of all paradisaical trees alike of Hindus, Persians, and Norsemen. In the famous bilingual, brick-inscribed text, from the library of Assurbanipal [Sardanapalus, *circa* A.C. 668—40] at Kouyunjik, of the hymn on "The Seven Evil Spirits," the Akkadian and Assyrian words used to designate the Edenic tree of Eridu are translated [*Records of the Past*, ix. 1437] "dark pine" by Professor Sayce:—

- " [In] Eridu a dark pine grew, in a holy place it was planted.
 Its [crown] was white crystal which towards the deep spread.
 The [a lacuna] of Hea [was] its pasturage in Eridu, a canal full [of waters].
 Its seat [was] the [central] place of this earth.
 Its shrine [was] the couch of [the *princess*] mother Zicum.
 The [a lacuna] of its holy house like a forest spread its shade; there was none who within entered not.
 It was the seat of the mighty, the mother [Zicum], begetter of Anu."
 "Within it [also was] Tammuz! [a lacuna] the universe [a lacuna]."

" The Akkadian "sky-god," and called "The Father of the Gods."

† Or Duzzi, "The Sun of Life," the Biblical [Ezekiel viii. 14] Tammuz,

"Tammuz pearly wounded,"

and the Afonis of the Greeks, who is torn away from Ishtar in the flower of his adolescence, and recovered by her from the gloom of Hades; as told in the Akkadian songs from the *Ishtar Legend*, entitled "the Descent of Ishtar." These "amorous ditties" are an obvious myth of the sun in his southern declination over the Indian Ocean, similar to the Deluge myth.

If the Akkadian and Assyrian names of the tree really mean "a dark pine," a very deep interest indeed attaches to them, as indicating that the Akkadians ["Mountaineers"] of Chaldaea still preserved among themselves the memory of a previous connection with some more northern country to which coniferous trees are indigenous. But no species of them exists in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, in which the date palm is, however, everywhere the most characteristic vegetable form. In Assyria, the oak, poplar, walnut, plane, and sumach are also found; but in Babylonia, if I may judge from the banks of the Shat-el-Arab, along which I botanised for more than a week in 1856, the only true native tree is the date palm; the occasional acacias, poplars, and tamarisks seen along with it being very dwarfed and scrubby. About Mohammerah, and Bussorah, which is half way between the head of Persian Gulf and the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates,* the date palm attains the noblest proportions, and occurs in dense groves extending for miles along both sides of the river. The intermediate glades of grass are all over enamelled with buttercups and deep blue pimpurnels, a combination of temperate with tropical vegetation perfectly enchanting to the eye, and which transported me with the feeling that the ground on which I stood was still as fresh and bright as when first planted by God, with what were, according to the Semitic legend, trees and herbs of heaven before they grew on earth; and that it was none other than "the gate of Eden." In the enclosed gardens also were the fruits both of northern and southern climates, apples and plums, together with pomegranates, oranges, and vines; the latter often

* The junction of the two rivers is more like a portage than a confluence, for it may be said to extend from Swaije on the west, in a prolonged reach of over sixty miles, almost coincident with the thirty-first parallel of northern latitude, due east to Karnah; and this reach is the river "that went out of Eden to water the garden." Endu may be identified with the present village of Abu-Shahreïn, about ten miles from the right bank of the Euphrates, south of Swaije.

trained up the stems of date palms, set in rows for the purpose. The vine does not ripen its clusters where the mean temperature of the year is higher than 84°, and the date will not flourish where it sinks below 84°, and it is remarkable that these conditions meet exactly in Palestine and Mesopotamia, the only two countries in which the vine and the palm are found growing together in natural fruitfulness and luxuriance. When we turn to the monuments of Babylonia and Assyria, it becomes perfectly clear that the Tree of Life, so universally adored, and, as I have elsewhere elaborately demonstrated, so universally reproduced in decorative art, from the remotest ages, in the East, is nothing but the palm.

"Encinctured with a twine of leaves,"

which represent at once the Soma plant and the vine. Originally it was worshipped by the Turanian Akkads at Eridu, as a phallic symbol, the palm representing the male principle in nature, and "the fruitful vine," when trained round it, the female. Afterward, during the time of Hamitic predominance in Chaldaea, a higher astronomical, or rather, astrological significance was given to it; while, under the Semites, it became associated with Nana or Ishtar, the Ashtoreth of the Sidonians, and with Asshur; and, it may be presumed, also with the supreme deity of the Babylonians, Il [Hebrew *Eloah*; Arabic, *Allah*]; for Babil, "the Gate of God," the Semitic name of Babylon, is said to be an idiomatic translation of its Akkadian name, Ka-Tintira, Ka-Dingira, or Ka-Dimira, "the Gate of the Divine Tree." Thus, even if it never really was a symbol of abstract deity, it was at once not only a phallic tree, but the mystic emblem of cosmical life, terrestrial and celestial, in man, and beast, and bird, and in trees and herbs, and in the sun and moon and five lesser planets, and the twelve constellations of the Zodiac, and all the hosts of the fixed stars, for ever shining beside

the banks of "the Milky Way," the heavenly Euphrates [cf. Eridanus], after the similitude of the vine-clad palm of Hea, by the waters of Eridu. It is identical, historically, with "the Tree of Life," and "the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil," of the Hebrew myth of Eden; and it probably suggested "the Tree of Life," of St. John's vision [Revelation xxii. 2], "which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruits every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations;" and which, whatever it may typify in the Apocalyptical sense, is a sublime poetical figure of the sun as "the giver of life," moving in his annual circuit through the twelve signs of the Zodiac. I believe also that the conventional Assyrian representations of "the Tree of Life" will be found to be directly connected with the thyrsus of Bacchus, and the Maypole.

Canon Rawlinson in "The Speaker's Commentary on the Bible" [vol. iii. 369] suggests the identification of Semele with a hypothetical female form of an obscure Assyrian god, Semel, whose name is said to occur several times in the Bible, in the original Hebrew, as in Deuteronomy iv. 6, where the English Authorised Version translates it "figure," and 2 Kings xxi. 7, and Ezekiel viii. 3 and 5, where it is translated "image," and 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 7, where it is rendered "idol." Again, Professor Sayce, writing, in *The Athenæum* of September 26 last, of her identification as the wife of Semel, which had been quite independently suggested by himself in *The Athenæum* of September 12 precedent, observes that she seems to have been the goddess of the grape, among some of the close neighbours* of the Assyrians, who was consumed by fierce heat of the sun, in giving birth to the wine god, Dionysos. The etymological meaning of the word *semel* in Assyrian is really image, and Semel was probably a local rural deity, analo-

* The original habitat of the vine are the slopes of the mountain ranges stretching from the Caspian Sea southward to the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates; and in the Persian portion of this region its vernacular name is *elvat*.

gous to the classical Priapus, and worshipped with other divinities, into whom he would appear to have been rapidly absorbed, under the form of the *asherim*, or reduplicative images of "the Tree of Life" of Eridu.

It seems to me from the elaboration of the topography of Mount Meru by the Hindus, and of the Aryana-Vaego by the Iranian Persians, that they must have been in some degree directly suggested by the Chaldæan myth of Eden; but I do not think that there can be any direct connection between the latter and the Norse myth of Asgard. Still less is it probable that, even if the original Tree of Life of the Akkadians was "a dark pine," "the Christmas Tree" of the Germans and English was derived directly from it. The latter one would presume to be rather connected with the Yggdrasil tree of the Norse myth, and to have been substituted for the ash at Christmas by the converted Germans, because its evergreen foliage made it a more appropriate decoration at this season of the year. At the same time, Professor Sayce's translation of the Akkadian verses on the Tree of Life does suggest that the custom of using pine trees in connection with religious observances may have been introduced from the beginning by some Aryan or Turanian tribe, coming into Europe direct from the Alpine regions of Asia, where they constituted the principal vegetation. It must not be overlooked, in this connection, that Gothic architecture has been as much influenced by the pine form as classical architecture by the palm form; the Ionic column in particular, and all that is Ionic in Greek architecture, being directly taken from the central conventionalised palm shaft, and surrounding trellis of vine leaves, of the Assyrian *asherim*, or images of the "Tree of Life." The Turanian architecture of Buddhism, as represented more especially by the seven-roofed pagodas of Further India and China, seems also as if it might have been suggested by different species of pine trees, as seen in silhouette; although their sacramental construction in seven storeys betrays the direct inspiration it

received from Chaldaea, whence all the now world-wide ideas of the good and bad luck of certain numbers are derived; these ideas having originated in the astrological study by the priests of that country of the different numeral aspects of nature; such as day and night (2); heaven, earth, and the underworld (3); the 4 quarters of the sky; the 7 planets; the 12 signs of the Zodiac.

For my own part, I was very early led to identify "the Christmas Tree" with "the Tree of Life," and chiefly from having been accustomed to entertain my native Indian friends, of all religions, on Christmas Day. I have always found them a good deal better Christians than myself; but, apart from that, I had to make the tree a symbol of universal charity and religious reconciliation, and of pan-Aryan brotherhood; and this is how I have always made it. I place it on a mound, resting on a coiled serpent or dragon. The mound is Mount Meru, Hara-Berezaiti, Olympus, Asgard, the anonymous Akkadian mountain of Paradise, Mount Moriah: the world itself. At the top of the tree I place the symbol of the universal empire of Christianity, from which fall down all over the tree seven differently coloured streamers, symbolising the seven Christian virtues. Next in order come representations in their proper colours of the seven planets: * Saturn, black; Jupiter, orange; Mars, red;

* This is the order and colouring of the planets by the Chaldeans, who were the inventors of the days of the week. It has always puzzled people that the Chaldean order of the planets, which is the natural one, on the supposition that the earth is the centre of the solar system, being as here given, the order of the days of the week should be so different. The explanation has been preserved in India. Not only each day of the week, but every hour of each day was, and in astrology still is, sacred to one of the above planets. Well, beginning with Saturday, the first day of the Chaldean week, its 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd hours are each dedicated to Saturn, the 23rd hour to Jupiter, the 24th to Mars, and the 1st hour of the following day to the Sun, and, therefore, the second day of the week is Sunday. Proceeding in the same way, the 3rd day is Monday, the 4th Tuesday, the 5th Wednesday, the 6th Thursday, and the 7th Friday. The Jews, to separate themselves from the surrounding Gentiles, made Sunday the first day of the week, keeping Saturday as their Sabbath; while the Christians, in commemoration of the resurrection of our Saviour, made their Sabbath on Sunday.

the Sun, gold; Venus, "Neapolitan yellow;" Mercury, blue; and the Moon, silver. Outside these I arrange the circle of the Zodiac, the six signs representing obsolete southern, winter, or Monsoon suns, viz., the Bull, the Crab, the Virgin, the Scorpion, the Goat, and the Fish, in frosted silver; and the six signs representing obsolete northern and summer suns, viz., the Ram, the Twins (*i.e.*, sun and moon), the Lion, the Scales, the Archer, and the Water-bearer, all in burnished gold. Then succeed the Vedic Hindu gods, the Greek gods, and Egyptian and Assyro-Babylonian gods, the tree itself representing the Turanian phallic symbols. The tree is also loaded with fragments of all the noblest products of the earth, and with gifts, and is illuminated with 84 [$7 \times 12 = 84$] lights, representing the hosts of heaven in their 84 * constellations. Returning again to earth, I there place a group illustrating the terrestrial scene of the Nativity, while from under the mound supporting the tree, issue four silver blue ribbons to the four corners, or four sides of the table, whichever correspond with the four cardinal points, representing the four rivers of Paradise. Before it, that is always toward the hostess, stands, not the Cherubim barring the way to the Tree, but the familiar image of Father Christmas, welcoming all to it.

It can be made of the simplest and cheapest materials, or the costliest, and in either fashion is equally pleasing; for, thus constructed, the Christmas Tree is no longer an accidental, almost chaotic decoration, but is instinct with meaning, understood at a glance. It is a little shocking at first to the orthodox. But its charity is not strained. It is not only a tree of reconciliation, but an object-lesson in mythology, and the history of the evolu-

* In India, where everything in heaven is a reduplicate on earth, the rural villages have been popularly arranged from the very earliest traditions of the people in groups of 84 [*chaurasi*], similar to our "hundreds," a very plain indication of a primitive connection between Chaldæa and India. See Edward Thomas in Marsten's *Numismata Orientalia*, new edition, Part i, "Ancient Indian Weights," p. 20. Trübner.

tion of religious ideas, which is at once learned, and then accepted ungrudgingly. The effect on my Indian friends is always electrical. They experience an intellectual sympathy with Christianity they never knew before, and when, at parting, I present them with a duly "reindeer" Yule log, to carry with them wherever they go the Promethean seed of fire, as the living symbol of pan-Aryan unity, I know that they have spent with me the very happiest day of their lives.

Primitive Christianity did not hesitate to accept not merely the symbolism, but even the teaching of the heathenism in the midst of which it gradually assumed its present ecclesiastical organisations. Those, of course, who regard the dogmatic creeds of Christendom as of divine revelation, in the narrow technical sense of the word, explain those obligations of the orthodox Churches to paganism, more especially to that of ancient Chaldaea and Egypt, by the assumption of a primitive revelation, from which mankind at once fell away, and to which they had to be brought back by renewed special revelations. But those who see in "the faith once delivered to the saints" the results of historical evolution, which is divine revelation in its proper sense, will recognise in the cosmological fables and dark moral parables of the demonolatrous Akkadian "psalmists" the first half-articulated religious conceptions to which our ecclesiastical theology has merely given the more definite, and exact expression dictated by the circumstances determinative of the whole course of the civilisation of the Old World during the past four thousand years.

"As little children lisp, and tell of heaven,
So thoughts beyond their thought to those high birds were given."

Christianity is essentially a chastening and elevating influence, as independent of forms and dogmas as it is reverently observant of all such as can be used for working out the moral salvation of the world; and, before a fixed organisation was imposed on it, and extraneous events brought it

into deadly conflict with imperial Rome, and infected it with a sacerdotal leaven of exclusiveness, it associated itself with the large-hearted freedom prompted by the intuitive sense of its Catholic truth, with whatsoever was intrinsically honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, or of any virtue and praise, not merely in the latent doctrines, but also in the open, palpable iconography of the surrounding heathen, giving to these beautiful "spoils of Satan," as Keble, unconsciously plagiarising the language of Akkadian dualism, terms them, their highest significance :—

" And these are ours : Thy partial grace
The tempting treasure lends :
These relics of a guilty race
Are forfeit to Thy friends :
What seem'd an idol hymn, now breathes of Thee,
Turn'd by Faith's ear to some celestial melody."

The select races of mankind would probably have risen, each independently, in the fulness of time, from the lowest to the highest forms of religion ; but the advancement of the historical Caucasian races from fetichism, atavism, and phallicism, to sabaism and polytheism, and again to monotheism, through the idolatrous worship of the sun, as "the ancient of days," was actually due to the direct reciprocation of religious ideas between them in the course of that cosmopolitan commerce of antiquity of which the countries of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean were the perennial freshsprings, and Egypt and Mesopotamia the head centres of exchange. The widespread comparison of religious ideas thus induced resulted everywhere in a large absorption of countless local deities into each other, and a further consolidation of a selection from them into colleges of governing gods, under the presidency of one of their number, who was regarded as above the rest ; and it was the worship of Bel or Baal, the predominant national god, under varying forms and names, of the Semites of Anterior Asia, which immediately led to the gradually perfected

conception among all the Caucasian races, Aryan as well as Semitic, of one universally supreme God, to the express [literally "squeezed out"] exclusion of every other god. The commerce established between Chaldaea and the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean Sea about *B.C.* 2000, a date closely corresponding with that more precisely assigned by Rabbinical chronology to "the Call of Abraham" [*B.C.* 1921], and which became more and more intimate in the course of every century, from about *B.C.* 700 down to the dissolution of the Western Roman and the Persian empires, more especially generated during the latter period those humanising conceptions of the parental relations of God with men to which the teaching of the Gospels of the New Testament gives the highest contemporary, and, if we may judge from its still unspent and unabated force, their final expression. This later trade, as organised by Psammetichus I., in Egypt, and by Nebuchadnezzar the Great, in Babylonia, the far-reaching effects of which were already realised by the writer of the Book of Daniel, as he witnessed its widespread operation in the second century *A.C.**, successively accomplished its inevitable moral consequences in every country embraced by it, until about the Christian era there seemed the possibility, but for adverse circumstances which subsequently supervened, of the whole world of antiquity becoming of one cosmopolitan religion, based in a common faith in the Fatherhood of God. In India, Hinduism became internationalised as Buddhism, and Judaism as Christianity in Syria and Egypt, while in Europe classical paganism seemed also on the point of becoming transformed, through neo-Platonism, into

* Antiochus Epiphanes, against whom the Book of Daniel is directed under guise of an attack on Nebuchadnezzar, reigned *A.C.* 175—164, and the trade of which its author was the eyewitness is, as prophetically seen in its spiritual results, "the fifth kingdom" of Nebuchadnezzar's dream [ch. ii.], and the "kingdom of the saints" of Daniel's own dream [ch. iii.]: by the saints being meant the highly idealised Jewish supernavigators, brokers, and commission agents, into whose hands the inspired pamphleteer saw the whole contemporary commerce of Babylon daily passing.

the purest of all forms of Christianity. But then followed the overthrow of Rome and of Persia, which gradually broke up, and in the end entirely destroyed, for three hundred years, the immemorial overland commerce between the East and the West. The East being thus, at the most critical period of its Hellenisation, cut off from the West, India rapidly relapsed into the strictest form of national and exclusive Hinduism, and the diffused humanitarian Judaism of Anterior Asia became differentiated as Mahomedanism, from the specific type it had already assumed in the dogmatic Christianity of Europe, and permanently established itself wherever, in Asia and Africa, the vitalising Hellenic element was either deficient, as in Syria and Egypt and Persia, or altogether wanting, as in Arabia and Turkestan—inaccessible regions which to the last will be the most formidable refuges of Islam.

Christianity, unfortunately, through the accident of the impatience of some of its early converts to the military discipline of Rome, was at its beginning placed in opposition to the general philosophical, literary, artistic, and scientific culture of the Gentile world, and thenceforward, at least as represented by the great historical Churches, in more or less marked antagonism, also, to the modern secular life of the West.

Happily, in India there is no gulf fixed in the popular belief between heaven and earth; and the Brahminical religious life has never sundered itself from the daily working life of the laity, but is a component part thereof, and indissolubly bound up with it; and we may, therefore, hope that in India, under the *Pax Britannica*, Christianity, whether taught by missionaries of the churches, or, more consistently with itself, through the administration of equal laws, and the public and private example of our righteous dealing, will have the exceptional opportunity of drawing an antique people into its fold, by its unstrained spiritual influences, illumining in them what is dark, raising what is low, and supporting and confirming all their higher ideals

of duty and amenity, without desecration or defamation of their traditional beliefs and worship, or the substitution of a foreign social system and ecclesiastical organisation for their own indigenous and sacro-sanct family, municipal and national institutions; indeed, without involving any breach in the continuity of their civilisation, or any dislocation of the relations between their priesthood and themselves, such as has for a thousand years overshadowed and embittered, where it has not altogether blighted as in Spain, and perverted as in France, the progress of the West.

Thus India, the inviolable sanctuary of archaic Aryan civilisation, may yet be destined to prepare the way for the reconciliation of the Church with the World, which, sooner or later, is inevitable, as an effect of the slow reversion of the temperament of the Aryan populations of Europe and America to their natural Hellenic type, from the incongruous Semitic similitude impressed upon them by the circumstance of the introduction of Christianity into Europe having been coincident with the decline and fall of the Roman empire; and through the practical identification of the spiritual with the temporal life, to hasten that third great step forward in the moral development of humanity, which will be the noblest result of the free-trade policy of England, and of which the signs are already beginning to be observed; when there will be no divisions of race or creed, or class, or nationality, between men, by whatsoever name they may be called, for they will all be one in the acknowledgment of their common Brotherhood, with the same reality, and sense of consequent responsibility, with which, two thousand years ago, they recognised the Fatherhood of God, and with which two thousand years before an exceptionally endowed tribe of Semites, in the very heart of Anterior Asia, formulated for all men, and for all time, the redeeming doctrine of His Unity.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

FIELD-MARSHAL LORD STRATHNAIRN.

AMONG the many English soldiers who have distinguished themselves since the close of the Napoleonic struggle in the numerous military enterprises which this country has had to carry on under the scorching sun of tropical Asia and Africa, not one deserves more honourable mention and unstinted praise than the subject of this memoir. Lord Strathnairn's name is identified with one great military achievement—the Central Indian campaign—but the striking point about his character was that he impressed all who came into contact with him with a belief that he possessed the instinct and capacity of a great commander—the true *feu sacré*. For what he was thought capable of doing, as well as for what he did, the salient passages of his career deserve preservation, and his biography should appeal to the sympathies of those who feel proud of the long list of gallant soldiers who have sustained since Waterloo the high reputation of the English army, and lent additional lustre to the reign of our beloved Queen.

Some sixty-five years ago, a tall, wiry youth, who had received his military education at Berlin, where he acquired a reputation for courage and endurance, entered the British army as an ensign in the 93rd Highlanders. His connection with this regiment was brief, as he was almost immediately transferred to the 19th Foot. His name was Hugh Rose. He was a member of the ancient family of Kilravock, his great-grandfather, the Rev. David Rose, Episcopalian minister of Locklee and Lithurst, having been a son of the eleventh Baron of that clan. This divine had suffered much in the early part of the last century from his

attachment to the Jacobite cause. His son was the Right Hon. George Rose, well known as the friend of Pitt, in whose administration he twice served.

This eminent man, to quote from his own diary (Cuffnells, September 17, 1817), was "descended paternally from the family of Rose of Kilravock, in the county of Nairn, and maternally from the family of Rose of Westerchune." One of his sons was William Stewart Rose, the poet, the friend of George III. and King Louis Philippe, each of whom visited him at Christchurch. Another was the future Lord Strathnairn's father, Sir George Rose, G.C.H., of Sandhills, Christchurch (b. May 5, 1770), who in 1805 became Paymaster-General to the forces, and who was sent in 1814 as envoy extraordinary to the courts of Munich and Berlin. Sir George Rose married Frances, daughter of Thomas Duncombe, of Duncombe Park, Yorkshire, and by her had ten children, now all deceased, of whom the third was named Hugh.*

Of Sir George Rose when a youth it was said by the Principal of his college at Cambridge (1791): "I think his abilities very considerable. I am in doubt whether he will make a good speaker. He does not want quickness of conception, but seems not to have the art of arranging his ideas to the greatest advantage. In any sudden emergency he will judge at once, and act with firmness on that judgment. I have never heard him spoken of but with approbation.

* The fourth son and last surviving member of this large family was Sir William Rose, K.C.B., Clerk of the Parliaments, who only survived his brother, Lord Strathnairn, four weeks. To describe his public services here would be out of place; but, in regard to his private life, it may be said, briefly, that he spent it in doing good to others, and in the unobtrusive but constant exercise of those high-minded and generous qualities which mark the Christian gentleman. He lies in the Christchurch churchyard, close to his father and mother, and to the brother whose services are here narrated, and to whom he was much attached. He married the Hon. Sophia Thellusson, daughter of John, Lord Rendlesham, who survives him. The eldest daughter of Sir George Rose Frances, married George Sholto, 17th Earl of Morton, and died 1879. It is a strange fact that her children represent the sole survivors in the third generation of this once numerous family.

His goodness of heart is such as I should wish in my most intimate friend." This, and other similar testimony to Sir George Rose's character is valuable, not only on account of his own services to his country, but because he was the father of Lord Strathnairn, who by the exercise of the same qualities, accompanied, perhaps, by similar faults, attained a distinction which has fallen only to a few. The parentage of an eminent man cannot be a matter of indifference to his countrymen, for is it not written, "*Nec imbellem feroces progenerant aquilæ columbæ?*" As the object of this article is, however, to bring to public notice the military services of one who served his country so faithfully and successfully, we pass on, notwithstanding the temptation to indulge in other details of family, if not general interest. This narrative will deal with simple matters of fact, although much of interest must be left, perforce, to the chances of future opportunity.

Ireland, with which, towards the close of his career, he renewed his acquaintance in the responsible position of Commander of the Forces, was the first scene of what may be called Lord Strathnairn's active service. In the spring of 1824 he was detached to Carrick-on-Suir with a sergeant and twelve men for "still-hunting" duties, that is to say, to escort and protect the excise officer in the seizure of "potheen," which the unhappy people, the remnants of the forty-shilling freeholders, brewed to pay the rents of their miserable cabins. These duties, from the state of the country, frequently gave rise to collisions between the people and the military, followed sometimes by loss of life. The marches were the hardest part of the work, because, to escape detection, the "potheen" was brewed in remote glens and amid bogs. Lieutenant Rose's first duty was to support a gauger in surprising at night a still some ten miles off in a cabin in the Bog of Allen. As the bog was trackless and full of peat holes, and the troops were forbidden to take any lights, the men frequently fell in the darkness and damaged

their arms. This is Lord Strathnairn's own account of the expedition :—

"The party arrived before daybreak at the suspected cabin, one side of which had been thatched by the proceeds of the previous year's brewing, and the other side, a ruined one, was to be paid for by the brewing then in the still—a visible proof of the wretched Irish system of small holdings which inspire the inhabitants with feudal notions of property, but disqualify them for honest labour and pursuits, and render them fit recruits for disorder and disaffection. The gauger let himself down by the chimney, and seized the still, pistol in hand, amidst the shrieks of the wretched family and their friends of the townland who were inside watching the brewing. For the sake of discipline and good feeling towards these poor people, Lieutenant Rose made his men keep their ranks, and would not let them enter the cabin; but, as the men had marched and were wet through, he asked permission of the woman of the cabin, a widow, to allow his party to dry themselves at the fire, and to have some potatoes and milk, which were paid for. This was most cheerfully granted, and a little relief was given to her and her family. The gauger, with the still and potheen, went on to Mohill, the county town of Leitrim, to make further seizures on the fair day there. The party had not gone a mile, when Lieutenant Rose asked the gauger to halt, as he had to gallop back to the cabin for his whip which he had left there. The gauger strongly advised him not to expose himself to the anger of the people of the townland. He galloped back, and was not wrong in thinking he would be well received, for he was met by the woman and her friends, holding up the whip with a welcome, "We would have followed you with the whip to Carriek-on-Shannon, and long life to your honour and your men." Here came out in strong relief that feature of Irish character, a good heart and warmth of feeling in one breast and treachery in another. A very tall athletic man had remained standing smoking his pipe in one corner of the

cabin, ejaculating Irish curses on the wicked men of the hill who had informed the gauger and brought him there. Lieutenant Rose, on the way to Mohill, where he was to capture more "potheen" on the fair day, observed to the gauger what a striking object that fine-looking fellow was who was denouncing so strongly the informers. "Yes, sir," he said; "but you wouldn't think that he was the informer himself, to whom I have just given a sovereign for bringing us here."

Arrived at Mohill in the early morning, the gauger told Lieutenant Rose that his party might breakfast whilst he searched the tents on the Fair Green. But this he did so harshly that the fair people set upon him with sticks and stones, and he sent an express for Lieutenant Rose to hasten to his aid. Lieutenant Rose had to charge with fixed bayonets, making prisoners of the most violent of the mob. He cleared the Fair Green, placed sentries on the prisoners and seizures, and advised the gauger not to further irritate the people by his violence. But on returning later in the day to Carrick-on-Shannon the visitors to the fair had much increased in numbers, and, all being more or less the worse for spirits, and armed with sticks and stones, barred the road. Lieutenant Rose had again to charge them, and, sending on the gauger and his seizures under a sergeant and four men, he himself with skirmishers stepped back by alternate files, facing the mob, and seizing the foremost and most active rioters.

Baffled by this movement, the leaders of the mob cried out, "Smash the young officer, and we'll aisy do the rest," and volleys of stones were thrown upon the party from the roof of the court house of the town, one knocking down Lieutenant Rose senseless, and smashing the sword in his hand. Seeing their officer's danger, the file on each side closed on and in front of him, and fired low into the rioters, wounding two of them slightly, one of them a young woman. These shots enabled Lieutenant Rose to recover his senses, and meanwhile the mob ran off in wild

confusion, upon which the party marched back to Carrick-on-Shannon. Here another incident of Irish gratitude occurred. On going round the sentries on the Fair Green, Lieutenant Rose had warned a knot of young women, farmers' daughters, who were prominent amongst the disorderly, that they had better go home, or they might come to grief: one of these girls had been slightly wounded in the face, as above stated, and her father, a strong farmer, afterwards summoned Lieutenant Rose for assault in wounding his daughter, telling her that she would have to give evidence in court against him. This she said she would not do, as the good officer had more than once advised her and her companions to go home out of harm's way, and the action was dropped.

Shortly after this Mr. Rose was promoted to a company in the 19th Regiment, and was frequently employed in giving aid to the civil power in Tipperary, which was at that time the scene of organised Ribbon outrages, the Protestant landlords and clergy being frequently shot at from behind walls, or in their own plantations. After only six and a half years' service, Captain Rose was further promoted to an unattached majority, a very difficult step to obtain at that time. Soon after receiving this promotion he was appointed to the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, on the strong recommendation of his commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald, who wrote to Lieut.-General the Hon. A. Duff, M.P., colonel of the regiment, as follows:—

"Major Rose is the third son of Sir George Rose, and joined the 19th Regiment as ensign in 1820; from that period to his being promoted to the unattached rank of major, I can say with great confidence that very few officers in the service gave more satisfaction in the various discharge of their military duties to his commanding officer. The duties in Ireland were of such a nature as to call forth the coolness and intelligence of this most promising officer, and I have no doubt his future career will be such as to be deserving of your protection."

The 92nd Highlanders were, on account of their different nationality, stationed in the disturbed districts in Ireland, where political agitation and monster meetings against tithes were the order of the day; and Major Rose, young as he was, was selected to put down these disaffected meetings. The announcement that a larger and more important meeting than had yet been held was to be convened on the plains of Cullen in Tipperary, induced the Irish Government to repress these illegal assemblies by force. And so important did the Commander of the Forces and the Irish Government consider this operation, on account of the disaffected state of the country, that Sir Hussey Vivian placed a large force of all arms at Major Rose's disposal, giving him discretionary powers as to the manner in which he should act in restoring order.

On being informed that the ringleaders of the meeting were collected on the Cullen Plain, and that if he were quick he would take them unawares, Major Rose galloped by a *détour*, with half a squadron of Enniskilling Dragoons and a magistrate, surprised the meeting, and made twenty of the leaders prisoners, who were relatives of the chief agitators of the day, and of very respectable families. Some of them were relations of Mr. O'Connell. Meanwhile the masses, some on horseback, some on foot, concentrated in great numbers at the place of meeting round the platform. Seeing this, the magistrate read the Riot Act, and ordered them to disperse, but without effect. Not only did they disobey the order, but brought up twenty barrels of whisky to a height opposite the 92nd Highlanders, and endeavoured to entice them into disorder by offering the men free drink. Major Rose asked his men if they would stand this insult to their discipline; their answer was to move up to the height in steady double time, smash in the heads of the barrels with the butts of their muskets, and resume their places in the line in the same good order. The hour of warning after the reading the Riot Act having expired,

the magistrate requested Major Rose to disperse the mob. To carry out this order of the civil authority, he adopted the same tactics as if he were in the field. He threw the 92nd and 97th Regiments into skirmishing order in double time at treble distance, their flanks advanced so as to encircle the multitude, and he placed the rest of the troops in order of battle with instructions to conform. This was the signal for the instantaneous dispersion of the monster meeting, all in wild confusion, horse and foot, trying who should run the fastest.

These tactics were, as he foresaw, useful in two ways. They placed the rioters completely in the hands of the commander of the troops if they resisted, and at the same time inspired them with awe, thus preventing the effusion of blood. Major Rose received a letter from the Commander of the Forces, to the effect that "nothing could have been better than the disposition he so judiciously adopted at Cullen." And, what was still more gratifying to him, the letter conveying this approval expressed unqualified approbation of the "excellent discipline and proper spirit of the troops in the execution of the services required of them." The Chief Secretary for Ireland, then the late Lord Derby, conferred on him the commission of the peace.

Sometime afterwards the 92nd Highlanders were removed to Malta, and Major Rose accompanied them. Here, too, he attracted the favourable notice of his superiors. Lieut.-General Bouverie, who had been aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, and was then Governor of Malta, issued an official approval of the conduct of Major Rose and Dr. Paterson, surgeon of the regiment, during a dreadful outbreak of cholera. With a view to encourage the men and to keep up their *morale*, Major Rose arranged, as the best way of saving them was to stop premonitory symptoms, that he should be called at night to visit every man taken into the hospital for cholera, and, ably assisted by Dr. Paterson, he took

successful precautions for placing men with these symptoms under proper treatment. In consequence of this, the 92nd Highlanders lost only thirteen men, this being a third, or even a fourth of the loss in any other regiment.

We have now come to a more prominent portion of the late Field-Marshal's career. In September, 1839, Major Rose was promoted to an unattached lieutenant-colonelcy. He was selected soon afterwards for special service in Syria, under the orders of the Foreign Office. The detachment sent out under Brigadier-General Michell, R.A., was to co-operate on land with the British fleet and the Turkish troops in expelling the Egyptian army from that country, and in restoring the Sultan's rule. Syria had then become the scene of the great French intrigue for territorial aggrandisement and influence on the shores of the Levant through the instrumentality of Mehemet Ali, one of the most remarkable men for his political and military talents who ever figured in Eastern politics.

The combined object at this time of France and Mehemet Ali was to overthrow the balance of power which had for more than 200 years been upheld by the leading Powers of Europe as the best means of preserving intact their territories and interests. Egypt and Syria were at this period under the direct sovereignty of the Porte, whose integrity and independence the five great Powers, England, Austria, Russia, France, and Prussia, had pledged themselves by treaty to maintain. But the great object of French and Egyptian ambition was to substitute the nominal power of Egypt supported by French influence, for Turkish power supported by British influence, at Constantinople. To effect this, Mehemet Ali threw off his allegiance to the Sultan, who thereupon declared him a rebel. He besieged, and, after a six months' siege, captured St. Jean d'Acre, and then declared himself ruler of Syria.

With a large and well-trained army, under the nominal command of Ibrahim Pasha, Mehemet Ali's son, and with

Colonel Sèvre, an experienced officer lent by the French Government, as the working commander-in-chief, the Egyptians marched on Constantinople, and engaged at "Nezebe," in the windings of the Euphrates river, the Turkish Army, which was sent to oppose their advance under the Grand Vizier Hafiz Pasha, to whose staff, it may be mentioned, was attached as Prussian instructor, Captain, now Field-Marshal, von Moltke. In this action the Turks, composed of raw levies, called "redifs," were completely defeated and routed.

In his distress after this defeat, the Sultan appealed to England for aid. It was in consequence of this application that, as before mentioned, staff officers and detachments were sent out to Syria. Colonel Rose was at first attached to the staff of Omar Pasha, who landed a division of Turkish troops at Jaffa. One of the earliest duties he had to perform was to ride towards a place called El Mesden. During his journey he heard shots between that place and the sea, and on going over some sandhills he saw twenty-seven coast Arabs, badly armed and equipped, skirmishing with the advanced guard of an Egyptian regiment of cavalry (January 15, 1841). These were the "El Heynadi" Arabs, one of the French organised Egyptian cavalry regiments, armed with a musquatoon and fixed bayonets "en bandolier." The Arabs, loyal to the Sultan, were, although retreating, able to check the advance of the Egyptians, and when they saw Colonel Rose their chief came up and begged him to take the command, which he did. He soon perceived that an Egyptian regiment was coming along the sea-shore, and, as it might be the advanced guard of a large body intending to surprise Omar Pasha's troops, who were disembarking in great confusion, he instantly despatched two Arabs to warn Brigadier-General Michell and Omar Pasha of its approach.

After sending this message, Colonel Rose retired leisurely with the twenty-five Arabs in two lines. The Egyptian troops had allowed their advanced guard and

skirmishers, which greatly outnumbered the Arabs, to get too far from them, and Colonel Rose took this favourable opportunity of closing the Arabs on their centre, and charged the enemy with a cry for the Sultan. His horse was a better one than those of the Arabs, and he was amongst the enemy before they could come up. Colonel Rose wounded the Egyptian leader severely on the head and face, and he fell from his horse. He himself received two wounds, one from a bayonet and the other from a lance. The Arabs came up as fast as they could, and behaved very well, vigorously attacking the enemy, who retired in confusion, leaving a few killed and wounded and some prisoners in Colonel Rose's hands. In the meantime, the two Arab orderlies had carried his message to Jaffa, and Colonel Bridgeman, one of the staff officers, galloped out with his usual spirit, as hard as he could with a squadron of Turkish lancers to join him in the pursuit of the Egyptians, who retired hastily, and, with the main body, were lost sight of in the sandhills. Colonel Rose rode a short way in pursuit, and then fainted, falling off his horse from loss of blood. The wound, however, was slight, and he very soon recovered. For his "forward and dashing conduct" on this occasion, he was warmly thanked by Omar Pasha and General Michell, and he received the "Nishan Istihar," in diamonds, and a sabre of honour from the Sultan, and afterwards a gold medal, with other officers, for the operations.

Shortly afterwards, Colonel Rose succeeded, by the lamented deaths of General Michell and Colonel Bridgeman, to the command of the British detachments in Syria, and, to his great surprise, was told that he had appeared in the Gazette as Consul-General for Syria (August 30, 1841), with full diplomatic powers. The position of affairs in the Lebanon was at this time a difficult one. The complications, foreign and domestic, were endless. Neither the French nor the Egyptians could forget that Syria was lost to them; as little could the Roman Catholic Maronites,

and the Druses of bastard Mahomedan faith, cease to remember their hereditary feuds. These complications were all dangerously aggravated by the policy of the Porte, which intrigued against the exercise of any religious influence by the French over the Maronites. Nor were the Turks disposed to increase the already great political influence of the English. To smooth animosities, to arrest the horrors of civil war, to induce the Turkish authorities to respect and cause to be respected the oath of Christians in Turkish courts of law, to administer justice honestly and impartially, and thus redeem the promises made by Her Majesty's naval officer and official authorities that the people would be better governed by Turkish than Egyptian rulers, were among the most important of Colonel Rose's duties.

Shortly after his arrival in the Lebanon, Colonel Rose received an intimation from the consul at Beyrout, that the Druses and Maronite Christians were on the point of coming into collision near Deir el Khama, the capital of the Lebanon, and that one of the civil wars, frequent between these sects, would in all probability follow if the quarrel was not at once stopped. As this outbreak would have been deplorable, Colonel Rose rode up to the scene of conflict in the mountains. The Maronites and Druses were found on his arrival drawn up in opposing lines firing at each other. With his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Rowan, R.A., he rode between them, stopped the firing, persuaded them to return to their homes, and took steps to prevent further hostilities.

Lord Aberdeen conveyed his entire approval of his conduct on this occasion, and for this service and his valour in the cavalry affair at El Mesden, informed him that he had recommended that Her Majesty should be graciously pleased to appoint him a Military Companion of the Order of the Bath, which was carried out (February 23, 1842). The King of Prussia, who took a great interest in Syria, also conveyed to Colonel Rose,

through his adjutant-general von Neumann, in a very flattering letter, his approval of his military services in Syria, and conferred on him the Commander's Cross of St. John of Jerusalem in reward for his distinguished courage (*ausgerichten Tapferkeit*) in that country, and the Queen gave her gracious permission to his wearing this order, which, it is apposite to say, is only given for services in action.

A lull in hostilities in the Lebanon succeeded, but not very long afterwards Colonel Rose had again to go up to Deir el Khama, where another serious collision had occurred between the Maronites and the Druses. The latter had driven the ruling Emir to take refuge in his walled palace, which was in fact a fort. Colonel Rose communicated this news to the consuls of the four great Powers, but they gave different reasons for not interfering. All these reasons were well founded, except perhaps those put forward by his Russian colleague, who said that he should have been most happy to go, but that Russia made a point of never interfering with the rights of the government of the Porte in any way whatever, and that this delicacy governed their policy and his own action. Colonel Rose could not help being amused by this new and unexpected discovery, but thought that this was one of those occasions when it was best to say nothing.

He therefore went up with two Kavasses and an interpreter to the scene, six miles off in the mountain, with all possible speed. The Druse outpost allowed Colonel Rose to proceed to their chiefs who were besieging the Emir, and he found them in consultation in their council-room, where he witnessed the horrible sight of a number of heads of the Christians which had been stuck upon lances, as a sort of ornament, round the walls of the room. Colonel Rose, of course, had them instantly removed, with strong expressions of his disapproval of such barbarity, and the Druses at his demand ceased firing on the besieged Emir and his small garrison. The Colonel was then passed into

the castle, whose garrison also, at his request, ceased firing. He then examined the pouches of the Maronite soldiers, and found that they had expended their ammunition, a few having one round, the others none at all, so that further resistance was out of the question. Colonel Rose insisted on the Druses giving up their prey, and he escorted the Emir, his garrison, and the Christian inhabitants of Deir el Khama in safety to Beyrout.

On another occasion he received a most earnest appeal at midnight from the Armenian missionaries at Abaye in Mount Lebanon that he would come at once, and induce his colleagues to come, to that place in order to prevent the entire destruction of several hundred Christians of the Shehab (the Royal family of Lebanon), who would be burnt in their castle which the Druses had set on fire, or be massacred, if the consuls did not interfere and prevent it. He found the Castle of Abaye in flames, and the Christians in it, mostly women, rushing from room to room with shrieks of despair; and to complete the scene of horror, the Druses with drawn swords were dancing war dances round a bonfire under the castle. He made such a forcible appeal to the Druses that he at last succeeded in inducing them to allow the Christians to leave the castle and to come under his escort to Beyrout. All the villages on the sides and tops of the Lebanon within some miles of the village and castle of Abaye, had been set on fire either by the Druse or Maronite combatants. Colonel Rose and his party stopped to rest outside a village, half way from Abaye to the sea. It contained a church of great sanctity among the Christians, which they entreated Colonel Rose to see. The roof was on fire, and they pointed out to him the picture of the patron saint, lamenting that they could not get at it. Colonel Rose saw he had time to save it. They let him down from the window; he made a dash across the chancel of the church, snatched the picture from the wall, and had just time to get back and restore it to them before the roof fell in.

As Colonel Rose and his party passed through the great ravines some way from Abaye, other Druses who did not know what had occurred at that place were seen lining the crest of the mountains with their rifles pointed on the road ready to destroy the Christians. He had again to employ the strongest remonstrances to procure them a safe passage. His efforts proved not less successful than before, and he brought his party down in safety to the sea-coast, between Beyrout and Sidon, he and his two Kavasses lending their horses to the women to ride. The heat in June was extraordinary in these narrow defiles, and two of the Christian Emir's servants died on the road, but there was no other loss.

This occurrence produced an impression in favour of England, which has never passed away. Lord Aberdeen was extremely pleased at the result, and expressed his entire satisfaction with this service, stating, in the House of Lords, that although England claimed no official protection of any sect of Syrians, their agent had certainly afforded, under the influence of the rights of humanity and of the promises which England had made to Syria, a protection which had on more than one occasion effectually saved from destruction several hundred Christians.

The Porte, strange to say, affected to be jealous of the influence thus acquired by the British consul-general, and complained of his interference. Upon which Lord Aberdeen wrote to the Turkish Government (January 22, 1842) :—

"The Porte surely cannot have forgotten the gallant manner in which Colonel Rose, in the early part of his residence in Syria, led on a party of the Sultan's forces to the attack of a superior force of Mehemet Ali's followers, on which occasion he was wounded. Neither can the Porte have forgotten that Colonel Rose, from the time that the command of the British detachments in Syria devolved upon him, has unremittingly devoted himself to the maintenance of the Sultan's authority in the districts round Beyrout, by affording to the officers of the Sultan his advice

and co-operation on all occasions, by impressing upon the native chiefs that it was their bounden duty, under all circumstances, to maintain their allegiance to the Sultan, and by endeavouring to mitigate the animosities of rival sects which threatened to disturb the peace of the country, and to render unavailing the benevolent intentions of the Sultan for the happiness of his Syrian subjects. The Porte cannot have forgotten how much was due to the exhortations of Colonel Rose, when the question of the tribute to be raised in Mount Lebanon for the service of the Porte was in agitation; how zealously he exerted himself to bring about an adjustment of that difficult question in a manner satisfactory to the Porte; and how steadily he discountenanced all proceedings which could bear the appearance of disrespect for the sovereign authority of the Sultan. Least of all, can the Porte have forgotten the exertions which, during the melancholy contest which has recently desolated the Lebanon, Colonel Rose made to rouse the Turkish authorities to uphold the supremacy of the Sultan indifferently over all the inhabitants of the Lebanon; how earnestly he laboured to reconcile the contending parties; and how gallantly he exposed his life in attempting to put a stop to the calamities of civil war."

Colonel Rose's services in Syria were thus of great value. As stated in 1848 by the consul at Beyrout, had less vigilance or less perseverance been exhibited by him, the administration of the Lebanon would have crumbled to pieces under the combined influence of Turkish bad faith, local venality, and foreign intrigue. In short, during the civil war of 1841, yielding solely to a sentiment of humanity, Colonel Rose proceeded to the scene of strife and bloodshed which the Lebanon then presented, and at the risk of his own life succeeded in staying the slaughter which had commenced. The lives of not fewer than three thousand Christians, including the governor of the Lebanon, were saved by his courageous and generous interposition on that occasion. The same feeling of

humanity which led him to Deir el Khama in 1841, induced him a second time, in 1845, to proceed to Abaye through a district convulsed by civil war. Once more 700 Christians owed their lives to him, and, in the true spirit of a gallant and chivalrous soldier, he lent his own horse to the exhausted women while he accompanied the weary and dispirited train on foot down the mountain, a journey of many miles, in the course of which several died from the heat and fatigue. On another occasion when cholera raged with great fury in one of the suburbs of Beyrout, and the terror-stricken Christian population had almost entirely abandoned their homes and fled to the country, he alone, of all the Europeans (with the exception of the medical officers, and the *sœurs de charité*) visited the wretched huts of the poor and others attacked by the malady and administered relief to the diseased and dying; thus, inciting others by his example, to do likewise, and awakening hope in those who before had known only despair. Language faintly conveys the impression created by conduct so generous and humane; but the remembrance of it was never effaced from the hearts of those who were its objects.

Colonel Rose's connection with the Turks did not cease with his departure from Syria, for he was transferred to Constantinople where he was brought into contact with another remarkable Englishman, the great Elchi. In recognition of Colonel Rose's brilliant services in Syria, Lord Palmerston took the first opportunity of bringing him into the regular diplomatic service by appointing him secretary of embassy at Constantinople (January 2, 1851). Soon after his appointment, the ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, went on leave, and Colonel Rose acted for him in his absence as *Chargé d'affaires*. Colonel Rose was thus placed in a position of great delicacy and responsibility during a most important crisis in the Eastern question, for at this very moment the Czar sent Prince Menchikoff on a special

mission to Constantinople to obtain from the Sultan a secret treaty vesting in Russia the actual protectorate of all the Porte's subjects of the Greek Antiochian persuasion, an arrangement incompatible with the independence of Turkey and with the rights of the other Powers. As was natural, the Porte vigorously opposed this dangerous attack on its independence, and immediately sought the advice and assistance of the English embassy, of which Colonel Rose was then in charge.

In accordance with his instructions, Colonel Rose took all necessary steps in aid of the rights of the Porte, and had frequent communications and interviews with Prince Menchikoff on the subject. The language of Prince Menchikoff to him convinced him of the danger of the Russian demands. His apprehensions on this subject were confirmed by a remarkable intercepted letter, written by a Bulgarian priest in the Russian and Turkish dialect, in which was announced a plan of creating a revolution in Bulgaria in favour of the Czar. He transmitted this letter as soon as translated to Lord Clarendon. Soon after this Colonel Rose received, early one morning, an urgent message from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs requesting his immediate attendance at the Porte on a matter of importance. His Excellency and the Grand Vizier then informed him that they had just received a demand from Prince Menchikoff requiring that the Porte should sign the secret treaty which I have just mentioned.

"The Porte," in the words of Kinglake (*Crimea*, vol. i. p. 99), "was so taken by surprise, and so overwhelmed by alarm, as to be in danger of going to ruin by the path of concession for the sake of averting a sudden blow. But there remained one hope—the English fleet was at Malta; and the Grand Vizier went to Colonel Rose, who was then in charge of our affairs at the Porte, and entreated that he would request our admiral at Malta to come up to Vourla in order to give the Turkish commander the support of an

approaching fleet. Colonel Rose, being a firm, able man, with strength to bear a sudden load of responsibility, was not afraid to go beyond the range of common duty. He consented to do as he was asked; and, although he was disavowed by the Government at home, and although his appeal to the English admiral was rejected, it is not the less certain that his mere consent to call up the fleet allayed the panic which was endangering at that moment the very life of the Ottoman Empire. Colonel Rose was the officer who afterwards became illustrious for his career of victory in India, but at that later time he was known to his grateful country as Sir Hugh Rose."

On the outbreak of the war in the Crimea, Colonel Rose was appointed, with the local rank of Brigadier-General, British commissioner at the headquarters of the French Commander-in-Chief (March 8, 1854). With him were associated Major the Honourable St. George Foley, as aide-de-camp, and Lieut.-Colonel Claremont, as assistant commissioner. Colonel Rose's function, with the assistance of the two officers named, was to be the organ of communication between the French and English commanders-in-chief in all matters relating to the two armies, but especially in carrying communications during action from the French to the English commander-in-chief, and *vice versa*. Colonel Rose was further instructed to send in his reports on the operations, and on all circumstances connected with them during the campaign, to the Earl of Clarendon, through the English commander-in-chief in the Crimea, for the information of Her Majesty's Government. On first receiving his appointment as Queen's commissioner, Colonel Rose drew up a short sketch of a plan of the strategical operations which, in his opinion, were the best calculated to ensure the success of the allies. He submitted the plan of operations which he had prepared to Lord Raglan, who sent it to Lord Clarendon. It was afterwards forwarded, through Lord Cowley, Her Majesty's ambassador at Paris, for submission to the Emperor of the

French. On passing through Paris on his way to the Crimea, Colonel Rose received an invitation to an evening party of the Empress at the Tuilleries, to which Lord Cowley, the ambassador, took him. The Emperor asked him to come into an adjoining room, and to sit near him on a sofa, when His Majesty showed him a copy of the very memorandum which had been sent to him by Lord Cowley, and added that he entirely approved it.

Colonel Rose was the first English officer who, after the many and protracted wars between the English and French, and the national animosity caused by them, had joined the headquarters of a French army as the representative of England. He felt certain he would be welcomed in a friendly manner, but he was not prepared, as he often afterwards said, for the display of marked goodwill and hospitality with which he was received by Marshal St. Arnaud and the officers of his staff assembled at the headquarters mess, of which he was at once made a guest during the campaign.

Colonel Trochu, who had obtained the first place amongst the cadets of his year at St. Cyr for a commission in the army, had been appointed first aide-de-camp to Marshal St. Arnaud, and he took the lead in these friendly relations, by saying that the Duke of Wellington's operations in the Peninsula were subjects frequently given to the cadets at St. Cyr for their studies. Having served as aide-de-camp to Marshal Bugeaud, who had been engaged with the English troops in the east of Spain, he gave the minutest description of the English tactics and their mode of resistance to the French attack; how, for instance, the English lay covered behind rising ground, and, letting the French approach within easy range, fired a volley, and with a cheer charged with the bayonet down the hill, "not going too far." All the French officers eulogised the discipline and good feeling shown by the English army in the south of France; the excellent discipline of the men; how the soldiers paid for everything; how the English

officers called upon the gentry and begged them to let them know of the misconduct of any part of the men towards them, treating them, in short, more like friends than like enemies. A young French officer from Toulouse wound up these eulogies by saying that the French had shown their sense of the kind feeling and behaviour of the English army, by taking care, up to this day, of the graves of the English officers, and at times throwing flowers upon them, "Et tout cela parceque vous étiez gentlemen."

Colonel Rose's instructions were, as already mentioned, to obtain from the French commander-in-chief the earliest and most correct information possible of the French movements and operations in the campaign, and to express his own opinion on them, for the information of Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, under whom he and his companions were, to use the official phrase, on "special service;" but he could not obey these orders as fully as he wished, without going "to the front." Nothing was further from his intention than to show off, as it is called, but he could not obtain this information without seeing as closely as possible the events of the campaign: besides which it was his earnest wish to take that forward part necessary as he knew to gain for him the confidence and esteem of his gallant companions in arms, the French officers, and which he could only do by going to the front, sharing the perils of war with them, and seeing closely and clearly the movements of their army and their objects. This feeling was heightened by the kind and generous welcome which the French officers had given him at their headquarters.

The opportunity soon offered itself. Shortly after the landing of the allied army at Varna, the alarm was brought by an officer to the French Marshal, while the headquarters staff were at dinner, that the French magazine containing the whole of the cartridges for the infantry in the coming campaign, stored in an old martello tower and its buildings, was on fire, and that these buildings, tower and all, were in imminent danger of blowing up. The officers all ran down

to the spot, and Colonel Rose's experience of fires at Constantinople enabled him to tell his comrades the best mode of putting this one out, which was to pull down at once with long poles and a hatchet and crook all the wooden buildings intervening between the fire and the houses beyond them. Several of the French officers went up with Colonel Rose to the roofs of the houses which they had thus separated from the one on fire, whilst others went to fetch French and English fatigue parties. This done, a French officer and Colonel Rose jumped from the roof, and going up to the martello tower, ascertained with their hands where the flames had produced the greatest effect on its walls, and when the French and English fatigue parties arrived in numbers all the engines were concentrated upon these endangered points. The fire was fortunately put out without any serious damage.

The following day Lord Raglan told Colonel Rose that he had heard with much pleasure of the assistance he had given the French in putting out this dangerous fire, and added that Marshal St. Arnaud had told him that he was extremely obliged to Colonel Rose for it, and had recommended him to the French Minister of War for the Officer's Cross of the Legion of Honour. This honour was afterwards merged in the higher grade, the Commander's Cross of the Legion of Honour.

The first serious engagement after the disembarkation of the allies in the Crimea was the battle of the Alma. Colonel Rose and Colonel Trochu were intimate, and had frequent conversations on the strategy of the allied movements against Sevastopol. They agreed that the advance should be a great naval and military echelon, the fleets forming the right step in advance, and the English forming the extreme left step of the echelon up the country, to enable the allied left to clear the coast road leading to Sevastopol, and throw forward the right front on the left. This movement was carried out at the Alma. The allied ships of war advancing in a great echelon from the right, shelled

the Russian left moving along the high road from Sevastopol, which was the line of Russian transport and telegraph communication.

A curious result of this was that the right step of the echelon took in flank the Russian left, and that a regiment of Russian cavalry, to avoid the destructive fire, took shelter from it the whole time of the battle in a ravine on the extreme left running down to the sea, without its being known to the allies till it retired on Sevastopol with the rest of the Russian army. The allies were to have marched in this order before the break of day, but this failed, because, as Lord Raglan explained to Colonel Trochu and Colonel Rose who had gone to ask the cause of the delay, the 4th or General Cathcart's division had not come up from the point where it had disembarked. General Bosquet's division, which had not halted, got some distance in front, owing to this delay in the advance, and, making a *détour* to the right, waded across the Alma, in quite shallow water, and, ascending the heights on the left, was the first to reach the Alma plateau. General Canrobert with his division followed. At this moment, Colonel Rose carried an urgent message from the Marshal to Lord Raglan, to request him to cross the Alma and attack the Russian right and their battery of twelve guns, in co-operation with the French attack on the Russian left. The English infantry were lying down on account of a very heavy mortar and other fire close to the bank of the Alma, the officers standing up, giving that good example in danger which English officers always do. As Colonel Rose was giving the message in this heavy fire, a shell burst close to Lord Raglan's horse, his favourite chestnut, and made him bound in the air. Lord Raglan said, "Hot work, Rose. I will do all I can, but the fourth division has not yet come up." Marshal St. Arnaud soon after this arrived at the ford on the Alma, but halted in rear of a little eminence near it, the ford being blocked up by a gun-carriage which had upset.

At this moment, heavy firing on the high ground above the Alma showed that General Canrobert's division had ascended the heights, and was coming into action with the Russian troops defending the telegraph position, the key of the Russian left. Anxious to see the French attack of the telegraph, Colonel Rose jumped his horse, a good Irish hunter, into the Alma and up the bank on the other side, and, galloping up to the heights on the right, arrived just in time to join Colonel Cler as he was deploying the 1st Zouaves for the attack of the telegraph position. Colonel Cler welcomed him with a hearty shake of the hand, saying, "*Soyez le bien venu, mon cher camarade, juste à temps pour l'assaut du telegraph,*" and they rode side by side in front of the Zouaves, who, with cheers, took it with great spirit under a heavy fire, losing many men, and crossing bayonets with the rear line of the Russians covering their retiring front. The head of a sous-lieutenant (Lieutenant Poitevin) was knocked off by a round shot as he was placing the tricolour on the walls of the telegraph, the building of which was not completed, and his body and the flag fell inside. The greatest loss of the French was incurred in the taking of the telegraph, but it was small in comparison with that of the English in their far more arduous capture of the formidable heavy gun redoubt. Colonel Cler showed his feeling in regard to Colonel Rose's joining him on this occasion, in a letter which he wrote him, asking him for his portrait—horse, uniform, and all—to be inserted in a picture of the storming of the telegraph, which was to be painted for the Emperor, and is now in the gallery of Versailles, saying that he wished him to occupy in the picture "*la place glorieuse que vous avez eu le courage de prendre dans mon régiment au moment suprême de la bataille d'Alma.*"

After the battle of the Alma, and a day or two before the opening of the fire against Sevastopol, Colonel Rose visited the Redoubt Numero Un, "*La Maison Brûlée,*" so called from the French having taken and burnt two houses,

and constructed a redoubt on an eminence which had a slight command of the Bastion Centrale, the principal masonry fortification of the Russian right, the left being only earthworks. The French engineer officer in charge, with the usual kindness of French officers, took Colonel Rose round the trenches of the redoubt, explaining the defects to him, more especially at a mistaken angle in it, which invited fire but which could not then be remedied, and afterwards to the glacis where they had a magnificent view, by the rising sun, of the permanent fortifications of Sevastopol. The perfect stillness which reigned over the scene, gave no warning of the fearful havoc and destruction which within a few hours were to ensue from a cannonade unprecedented in artillery annals.

The next morning, the French headquarters' staff were surprised at hearing a very heavy artillery fire from the right of the permanent fortifications. General Canrobert had gone out early in the morning with Colonel Trochu on a reconnaissance. On hearing the fire, the French staff officers galloped off in its direction, Colonel Rose and Colonel Vaubert de Genlis making for the hut of the "Major des Tranchées." Here they found General Canrobert, and learnt that this unusual fire was caused by a violent cannonade from the "Bastion Centrale" and from other batteries on the right of Sevastopol, upon the redoubt "La Maison Brûlée." Just as Colonel Rose and his companions arrived, General Canrobert, with his wonted courage and devotion, was starting for the redoubt in distress, only allowing General Martimprey and Colonel Trochu to accompany him, for fear of drawing down the enemy's fire by a larger party. Colonel Rose begged that he might go also. General Canrobert demurred. Colonel Rose replied that if the English commissioner attached to his staff did not go to the post of danger with him, he could never look his brother officers again in the face. General Canrobert, in his usual good-natured way, taking him by the arm, replied, "Allons donc, Rose, ensemble." On reach-

ing the redoubt, they found that the whole of the defences which were exposed to the cannonade were completely destroyed by it; and this was not surprising, for General Bizot, commanding the French engineers, told General Canrobert that the Russian batteries had fired on it 840 rounds in one hour, the heaviest artillery fire, he said, on record. The carnage inside and outside the redoubt (which had been held by the 1st Zouaves with remarkable fortitude), from the vertical and other fire was fearful, more than half the garrison having been killed, besides the wounded.

As General Canrobert and those with him went round the ditch, a shell burst close to them at the very mistaken angle shown to Colonel Rose by the French engineer officer, one splinter contusioning the general on the arm, and another hitting Colonel Rose himself on an artery just beneath the eye, knocking him down senseless, and causing a considerable effusion of blood. When he came to himself, he found two soldiers of the 1st Zouaves trying in the kindest manner to raise him up and staunch the blood, whilst General Canrobert was standing over him, thinking he was dead. Numbers of French officers, including Prince Jérôme Bonaparte, called next day at Colonel Rose's tent to inquire after him. General Canrobert reported the incident officially to Lord Raglan, and it was published in *The London Gazette* of February 6, 1855.

The next encounter in which Colonel Rose took a prominent part was the battle of Inkermann. The important events of that day afforded him an opportunity of rendering a service to the French and English armies which General Canrobert, in an official letter, characterised as most important to the great cause which was at stake in that eventful struggle. To understand this, it is necessary to take a brief glance at the history of the battle. The secret plan of the Emperor Nicholas and his War Minister was to take advantage of the ridges of the commanding heights of Inkermann (which ran north-east in a rough parallel, and within cannon shot of the upper harbour of Sevastopol).

to surprise and turn the right of the allied army, which was *en l'air* commanded by the heights opposite to it of Inkermann and to "drive the infidels," as the secret instructions ran, "and their allies to their ships or into the sea." Before the arrival of this telegram, two Grand Dukes, sons of the Emperor, had arrived from Moscow at the headquarters of Prince Menchikoff, to encourage the execution of this great project.

Before the dawn of day, very heavy firing of artillery and musketry from the direction of Inkermann called General Canrobert and his staff out of their huts. With his usual intelligence, concluding that the Russians had attacked General Pennefather's division on the right, he requested Colonel Rose to go as fast as he could to that officer and inquire whether he could give him any assistance. Riding by the shortest way through the ravines, Colonel Rose gave the message to General Pennefather, who, overpowered by the very superior numbers of the enemy after gallantly resisting their advance, had just given orders to his division to retire slowly and in action. His two guns being too close to the enemy, were taken, but afterwards recaptured. All the Emperor's secret instructions had been skilfully carried out. The English outposts and pickets were surprised before the break of day. Colonel Haly, commanding the 47th Regiment, distinguished himself by his bravery in resisting the advance of the Russians, killing two or three of the enemy in personal encounter. Masses of Russians, with deep cheers, rendered more vehement by two tots of vodka given them on parade before they advanced (covered by skirmishers and the vertical fire of the heavy mortars of the Russian ships of war in the harbour), from the Malakoff gate over the Inkermann ridge and also by the harbour coast road, to the highest point on the Inkermann heights, to fortify which and the lower heights, a hundred mules had been employed conveying fascines during the night along the coast road. It was a serious but grand scene

of war, a fitting prelude to the sanguinary struggle that was to follow.

On delivering General Canrobert's message to General Pennefather, the latter's reply was, "You see, Rose, what is going on. Give General Canrobert my sincere thanks, and tell him he cannot come too soon." Colonel Rose galloped the same pace back to the French headquarters, but found that General Canrobert had already marched to reinforce the English right. He got a fresh horse and reached General Canrobert with this reply just before his division came into action. It will be seen in Lord Raglan's despatches how handsomely he acknowledged the able assistance of the French, and how much he complimented General Canrobert's tactics on this occasion. Here was seen the proof of the heroic valour with which the Guards, some in line and the rest in skirmishing order, had resisted the attack of the Russians on what was the key of the allied position. Twelve officers of the Guards had been carried, killed or wounded, out of action, and the men in their bear-skin caps, grey coats, and white belts, lay on the field in all the varied forms of death, with their intervals preserved and their faces to the enemy. On a ridge to the left was lying one young officer; his servant was holding his head, the blood was gushing from it and from other wounds, and his young brother who had come to Balaklava the night before was holding his hand in tears. General Canrobert said to Colonel Rose, "*C'est touchant ; qui est ce ?*" The servant who was holding up his head answered, "Sir John Newman. The Russians bayoneted him when he was lying wounded."

General Canrobert posted his division on the English right, the point of the Russian attack as ordered from St. Petersburg, and General Bosquet coming from the other side of the plateau posted himself on the right again of General Canrobert. The shells, which the Russians always fired by twos in echelon, were dropping thickly on the English right, and one carried away the whole face of General Bourbaki's horse, when he pirouetted round several times mad with

pain, and fell dead. Another shell burst between General Canrobert and Colonel Rose, one splinter carrying a piece of Colonel Rose's thorough-bred horse's stomach away, and another contusioning General Canrobert's arm. They caused also one or two casualties in the 11th Hussars, who were therefore retired out of fire. General Bosquet now rode up, and, dropping his sword to General Canrobert, asked to be allowed to charge a very large body of Russian troops in massed columns, who were attacking the French right, with his Regiment of Tirailleurs Indigènes (Algerian Mahomedans). General Canrobert replied, "Certainly, I quite approve;" and General Bosquet, in a brief but energetic speech in Arabic, addressed his men, telling them if they did their duty they would go to Mahomed, but if not to "Jahanum." After firing a volley into the Russian columns, General Bosquet ordered the "Indigènes" to charge them. They were so outnumbered by the Russians that their képis only appeared in the mass occasionally like "leaves in a stream." The Russians were completely repulsed, and retired in disorder, the "Indigènes" making great havoc amongst them with their sword bayonets.

Shortly afterwards, in the heat of the battle, an orderly officer from General Pennefather galloped up with an important message to inquire whether General Canrobert could hold the ground between the left of General Canrobert's division and the English right. His inquiry tallied exactly with the short conversation which Colonel Rose had just afterwards with Lord Raglan when he took him a message from the General. After he had replied to the message, he said, "It looks fishy, Rose." "No," said Colonel Rose, "it's all right, my Lord, if we only take the redoubt on our right," pointing to the Inkermann works thrown up in the night. "Yes," he said, "that's just what Pennefather has been telling me." The inquiries made by General Pennefather showed that he had contemplated taking the redoubt, and so it came to pass; for shortly afterwards, when General Canrobert asked Colonel Rose to

come with him to the front to make a reconnaissance (and as they went there, the Duke of Cambridge joined them), the Russians, recognising the French commander-in-chief by the flag carried by the *Maréchal de Logis*, opened fire upon his party. The projectiles which ricocheted towards the party were of lighter calibre than the guns in the battery; and General Canrobert with his usual intelligence judged from their light calibre that the Russians were covering the retreat from the battery of heavy guns with horse artillery, thus showing that its garrison were in full retreat—a welcome announcement.

On receiving General Pennefather's message as to holding the ground between his left and the English right, General Canrobert looked rather embarrassed, on which Colonel Rose, who knew the ground, told him he would be glad to reconnoitre it for him. He assented with warm thanks. Having reconnoitred the ground between the French left and the English right indicated by General Pennefather, Colonel Rose then went down the road on the right of the Russian redoubt, running from the plateau to the *Tchernaya* under it. He came *en route* upon a small English picket of a young subaltern, who had constructed an ambuscade on the side of the road, and having reconnoitred the ground to the right of the Russian redoubt, he proceeded to the ground on its left, passing under the shower of a cannonade between the Russians and the English two 18-pounders under Major (now Sir Collingwood) Dickson, Royal Artillery, and the guns of Commandant La Boussinière's Horse Artillery battery, two officers whose ability and courage did honour to the splendid armies to which they belonged.

Here occurred the great slaughter of the Russians which was caused from the admirable fire of the Enfield rifles of the Guards, and the gallant charge of General Bosquet's *Indigènes*. It was not simply detached groups of dead, but one long heap of dead and severely wounded or dying men. Colonel Rose's horse, frightened as horses

generally are at dead bodies, bounded wildly, and could only be managed with difficulty, when a rifle shot struck it under the knee, cutting the sinew. He fell on Colonel Rose with violence amongst a mass of Russians, Colonel Rose's cheek coming in contact with the face of a Russian soldier who was near death, and was praying to a little picture of the Virgin which he had placed on a twig of heather brushwood before him. All Colonel Rose's efforts for some ten minutes to make the horse rise were useless, till raising his leg as high as he could, he let it fall with all his force on the horse's flank, when it made a great struggle and plunged forward. But the poor animal was dead lame, and Colonel Rose led him with difficulty to the French headquarters and made his report to General Canrobert that there was nothing to prevent his holding the ground to the French left and the English right. This welcome intelligence was sent immediately to General Pennefather, who moved forward with the Rifle Brigade to occupy the redoubt, which he did without firing a shot.*

Gratitude was one of the bright qualities of General Canrobert, and nothing was more gratifying to Colonel Rose than the approval which the *Maréchal* afterwards expressed of the service he did him at Inkermann by this reconnaissance. He recommended Colonel Rose for the

* Shortly after this incident was taken down from Lord Strathnairn's own lips, Sir Robert Morier, now Her Majesty's ambassador at St. Petersburg, told the writer of this paper that he had recently met the Russian officer who commanded the Russian pickets at the moment indicated, along the Inkermann heights. This officer mentioned, as one of the most remarkable incidents of the day, the fact of seeing with difficulty in the mist a tall, gaunt figure riding leisurely down the Tchernaya-road under a withering fire from their whole line of pickets. The figure turned neither to the right nor to the left, nor could the Russians hit it. Suddenly they saw this figure fall headlong with his horse. After a few minutes, paying no attention to the firing, this mysterious stranger got up, shook itself, gatted its horse, and led the animal leisurely back up the road. The Russians were so struck with admiration at its courage that an order was sent all along the line to cease firing on the figure, which "we afterwards learnt," said the Russian General, "was Colonel Rose."

Victoria Cross without reference to him except to say that he had done so. In this report he stated that Major-General Rose had been "his brave and constant companion in the trenches before Sevastopol, in the various actions, notably at Inkermann." Colonel Rose, he said, was wounded by his side in the trenches, and "I recall to mind with pleasure how he never ceased to solicit from the General-in-Chief the honour of taking his glorious part in the most dangerous duties, particularly at the battle of Inkermann, where he went alone in spite of the most destructive fire (*le feu le plus meurtrier*) to reconnoitre the ground between the right of General Pennefather and the left of the French troops engaged, and thus contributed to the so useful (*si utile*) operation of the combination (*co-ordrement*) under the enemy's fire of the English right and the French left." "On this occasion," he added, "the gallant General Officer had his horse wounded under him."

On account of Colonel Rose's rank of brigadier-general at the time, it was held that he could not, under the strict interpretation of the warrant, receive the Victoria Cross, but many years afterwards (1876), Marshal Canrobert again pressed his claims to the Victoria Cross, saying that "Lord Strathnairn, who had been attached by the Queen's Government to the French headquarters, constantly took a leading part in the various actions in the memorable Crimean campaign, and gave proof of the most remarkable personal courage and the rarest coolness in the midst of the greatest dangers. Sir Hugh Rose had already during this epoch given signs and proofs of the eminent warlike qualities which distinguish him, and which afterwards made his glorious name so celebrated." For his "distinguished services in the Crimea" Colonel Rose was promoted to the rank of major-general, and he was also made a K.C.B.

The following extract from Lord Clarendon's despatch of February 1, 1856, to Major-General Rose, will show how he never lost sight of his instructions to give Her Majesty's Government the most correct and early informa-

tion of the operations of war. Lord Clarendon wrote : " I must, before I conclude, express to you my entire approval of your conduct in the difficult position in which you have been placed, and more particularly of the clear and able reports which you have from time to time transmitted to me of the military events and operations which came under your cognisance." And again : " Your conduct in difficult circumstances has been judicious. You appear to have maintained the best relations with the French Commander-in-Chief and his staff; and the advice which you have at different times tendered in a highly becoming tone and spirit has been in conformity with the wishes and opinions of Her Majesty's Government."

Six months after the battle of Inkermann, Major-General Rose had the opportunity of performing a duty which was of service to the great cause which the allied Powers were defending in the Crimea, as well as to the reputation and good name of their gallant armies. A mixed committee of British and French officers of the scientific branches of both services had given their opinion that it would be advisable to suspend the siege of Sevastopol. In the conviction that such a measure would be most damaging to the reputation of the allied armies, particularly to the English Army, and to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, General Rose addressed a memorandum to Marshal Pelissier, in French, with the entire concurrence of Colonel Trochu (who looked over it and said he could not see a fault in it) in which he set forth the evils of so fatal a step. He urged, among other numerous objections, that to suspend the siege was only another word for giving it up, and that the task of removing the immense parks of siege artillery of the heaviest calibre would of itself be almost impossible: whilst to spike their guns in the face of an unsubdued enemy would, after all the precious blood spilt, have been a blight which nothing could efface, and would have entailed the sacrifice of all that is dearest to soldiers—the esteem of

their countrymen. He urged this the more strongly, because every day the allies, without retreating an inch, advanced a little against Sevastopol—an advance which he knew must end in pushing the enemy into the waters of its harbour, when they would have to retire in precipitation across a cranky wooden bridge which had already sunk too low in the sea to be safe for the hurried retreat of an army and its material. He argued that all that was wanting to accelerate the fall of the fortress was a little more energy both in the siege operations and in threatening the rear and land communications of the besieged army on the other side of the isthmus.

This memorandum was sent to Lord Clarendon, who conveyed in a telegraphic cipher despatch to General Rose the entire approval of himself and Her Majesty's Government of the advice he had thus given. He also informed him that Lord Cowley, Her Majesty's ambassador at Paris, having communicated it to the Emperor, His Majesty was so much pleased with it, and said it so entirely coincided with his own views, that he had instructed Marshal Pelissier to ask him for, and to be guided by it.

At this period General Rose advised Marshal Pelissier to beg Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons to lend him two sea mortars, which did admirable service at a critical moment. It happened thus. General Rose was visiting the new trenches and the redoubt which the French after their capture of the Mamelon had thrown up in advance of it towards the southern harbour, when the captain of artillery, an excellent old Breton officer (and the Bretons are second to none in the French army, whether in the artillery or other branches of the service) asked him to come on the glacis. General Rose then said that it gave excellent views of the southern harbour where the Russian men-of-war were, with which his gallant companion in arms entirely agreed; and knowing the great advantage of the 13½-inch naval mortars over the common 15-inch mortars, he told Marshal Pelissier of the result, and earnestly begged to be

allowed to ask Sir Edmund Lyons to lend him two of these mortars, to which he consented. It was a work of great difficulty to move such heavy pieces of ordnance through the trackless sand and bad ground of the plateau; but the English sailors, who have never allowed themselves to be beaten by any difficulty in the service of their Queen and country, overcame this obstacle, and the two mortars were placed in the new redoubt. The day after, when the headquarter staff were at dinner, the officer of the *vigile* on the Mamelon sent an express report that a shell from one of their mortars had gone right through a Russian man-of-war, a *gabbare* or two-decker, and had blown it up completely. The discouraging fact thus conveyed to the Russian garrison, namely that their rear was cut off by the allied artillery, was the main cause which decided their speedy retreat.

At the attack on the Malakoff, in the admirable instructions for the taking of Sevastopol, General Bosquet, to whom the duty was delegated by Marshal Pelissier, laid down that if the Russians should on the day of the assault of Sevastopol and the Malakoff, its key and most important feature, repeat their *manœuvre* of June 18, and bring up their heavy war steamers to the extremity of the south harbour to enfilade the French second line, the following precautions were to be taken. As soon as the report was made that the Russian steamers were preparing to weigh anchor and come up the bay, the ninth parallel was to be rapidly thrown down by a company of Engineers, and filled up and beaten into a hard mass by rammers, and when finished a field battery was to be trotted across it and come into action at close distance to the glacis of the little Redan, that is to say, the last work in the Russian left of the fortifications which dominate the south harbour, firing from right to left by divisions.

General Bosquet argued most truly that the Russians, seeing the smallness of the projectiles thrown from the redoubt, would be led to believe that the allies were in

possession of the ground beyond the ninth parallel, and between it and the little Redan, and that under the fear of plunging shot and other kinds of projectiles their war steamers would weigh and retire out of fire. So it happened. Marshal Pelissier had given General Rose General Bosquet's instructions to read, and his first aide-de-camp and himself, knowing that the Russian steamers had weighed to perform this manœuvre, which General Bosquet thought probable, anxious to be the first to give the news of the success to the Marshal, went to the *vigile* of the Mamelon to see the execution of this admirable movement. As the steamers approached, the filling up of the ditch was carried out under fire with the most laudable rapidity and success, and the French battery of field artillery trotting up at a quick pace, came into action as ordered, not against the little Redan, to which it was close, but against the Russian war steamers.

The commander of the war steamers, judging from the projectiles which fell, or ricochetted, on the deck, that they were under the plunging fire of a field battery, thought that the French were in possession of the little Redan, and weighed and retired, thus realising General Bosquet's prognostications. But just as they came into action, when General Rose's gallant companion was about to exclaim "Magnifique," the space in the *vigile* being so small that he was obliged to throw his arm round General Rose's neck, a round shot took his head off, except a shred, and it fell upon the English officer's shoulder, covering him with the blood of his good and gallant companion in arms, who was a brave and excellent officer, and as popular with English as with French officers. A brother officer and General Rose carried the body into the redoubt.

The day before the storming of the Malakoff, Major-General Rose, in company with an intimate friend of his, the late Admiral Pothuau, a most gallant officer, afterwards French ambassador in London, reconnoitred the right of the French trenches, where the French had made an admirable

engineering advance for three-quarters of a mile—and a more successful or more rapidly and efficiently executed one is not, it is believed, recorded in engineering history—against the Malakoff. This engineering advance or operation was occasioned by a letter from the Emperor to Marshal Pelissier, in which he told him that the French alliance with the English in the Crimean war, and the immense expense of the expedition, were causing great dissatisfaction in France, the more so because public opinion and the press were constantly urging that, besides the vast expense, the war was more for English than for French interests ; so much so that, if Sevastopol were not taken in six weeks, he must, however profound his regret, withdraw from the English alliance, but that every effort in the meantime was to be made to capture the place. These expressions of goodwill, and the desire to give a loyal and successful effect to his intention to co-operate efficiently and sincerely for the success of the Crimean campaign by this admirable engineering advance, fully tallied with the assurances made by the Emperor of the French in his letter just mentioned.

Upon this, the French commenced their advanced parallel just mentioned, losing on an average one hundred men killed and wounded every twenty-four hours, as seen by returns which they showed General Rose. Admiral Pothuan and General Rose having reached the ninth parallel, the French officer commanding there, with the usual unvarying kindness of the officers of that army, said he would show them everything they wished ; they might even see the ditch which had been thrown up for the parallel, and which they were to finish that night, but that it was so close, only 27 yards, to the salient angle of the Malakoff, from which it was concealed by a *pli de terrain*, that the slightest noise would excite the attention of the Russian sentries and cause the destruction of their work. General Rose and his companion therefore crawled in the best Highland stalking fashion to the extremity of

the ninth parallel, and so close that they heard the Russian sentries relieving and giving each other the orders of the post. They came back with the same precautions, and General Rose reported to Marshal Pelissier the favourable result of the reconnaissance, for which the Marshal thanked him very much.*

At the close of the campaign, Marshal Pelissier brought to notice the "incessant and very useful services" performed from its commencement by General Rose and his brother officers, as so frequently mentioned by his predecessors. "On June 7 and 18, August 16, and notably on September 8, 1855, these officers," he said, "had to maintain a constant verbal communication between the two armies, and to this end had to undertake missions *les plus périlleuses*." The Marshal also wrote to General Rose expressing the regrets and esteem which the French army felt for him. "I am happy," he said (June 5, 1856), "to have to express to you these sentiments which spring from the distinction of your military services during the war; of the cordiality which you showed to every

* In the "Memoirs of Admiral Pothuau," published in Paris in 1882, it is said: "A la tranchée tous les deux jours pour y faire son service d'artilleur, il allait, à ses moments perdus, examiner les positions ennemis, soit avec ses camarades, soit avec les officiers anglais de l'état-major, entre autres le général Rose qui s'est depuis d'une si brillante manière illustré dans l'Inde, et qui a été créé field-maréchal avec le titre de Lord Strathnairn." The good feeling which existed between Lord Strathnairn and the officers of the French army was very marked. He always spoke of Marshal Canrobert with enthusiasm. On one occasion (1882), writing to a Royal personage, he said that he never could forget the kindness he experienced at the French headquarters from the first to the last day of the Crimean war, nor the deep sense he should ever entertain not only of "Marshal Canrobert's remarkable and unvarying kindness to myself, but also of his generous and excellent feeling for the British army, especially when, in the early part of the campaign, they suffered much from a severe winter and its hardships. On two occasions, having learnt from me that they had dysenteric tendencies from want of fresh bread, having only ration biscuits, he sent the whole of Lord Raglan's army fresh bread and cacolets (mule litters) at different times for our sick and wounded when they were really required for the French army, acts of disinterested goodness of heart which can never be forgotten by those who experienced their benefits."

one, and the care you have taken to maintain that excellent understanding which contributed so much to the successes which we have obtained." His thanks were afterwards expressed in similar language in a public despatch. Marshal Pelissier's good feeling towards General Rose did not cease with their separation, as may be seen from a note he wrote to him in 1858 from the Royal Pavilion at Aldershot, where, as French ambassador at the court of St. James, he was Her Majesty's guest, congratulating him on the capture of Gwalior, in which he said: "*Je suis venu à Aldershot, à bruit de vos succès, et j'y ai vu le plan de votre dernier succès, étant à ce camp, que je vous adresse mes sincères félicitations, et mes bons souvenirs pour le Général Colin Campbell. Tenez bon, et surtout ne vous laissez pas gagner par la maladie.*"

Referring to the services of the French army, and to those of Sir Hugh Rose, in the Crimean campaign, Lord Panmure, in moving the vote of thanks in the House of Lords, on May 8, 1856, to the army, navy, and militia employed in the operations of the war, said: "While returning your thanks to the army, navy, and militia for its services during the present war, it would not be becoming in your Lordships to forget how much we are indebted to our allies who have been united with us in the prosecution of the war. To the army of France we owe much, for from them, I believe, we have learnt something in regard to the mode of conducting war. We owe them much for the cordial manner in which they have at all times united with our troops, and for the good feeling which has always existed between the soldiers of all ranks in both armies. Much of this is due to the conduct and ability of those officers who have acted as commissioners with each army. Too much praise cannot be given to the French commissioners who were attached to our headquarters for their efforts to maintain these excellent relations, and I deeply regret that one of them, Colonel Dieu, is not alive to receive from this country that meed of praise. Our own commissioners, Sir

Hugh Rose and his brother officers, serving with the French army, no less merit that approbation which I am sure your Lordships will cordially join with me in testifying to them."

The peace which followed the Crimean campaign proved, so far as England was concerned, of very brief duration. When the great Mutiny broke out in India, Sir Hugh Rose volunteered for employment. He was appointed to the command of the Poona division in the Bombay Presidency, and was informed that he would receive the charge of a field force, which was to perform an extensive strategical turning movement in aid of Lord Clyde's army. The turning movement was to consist in a march from Bombay, through Central India, for the purpose of capturing Calpee, and to "give a hand," in military phrase, to the Commander-in-Chief's army on the Jumna and Ganges. Sir Hugh was expected to pacify, during this march of 1,000 miles, a large area of disaffected territory, and to subdue many strong forts. The subject of the Central Indian campaign has been so admirably handled by Colonel Malleson in his "*History of the Indian Mutiny*," that it may be treated here with some brevity.

Sir Hugh Rose assumed command of the first brigade of his force at Mhow on December 17, 1857, and, after joining with it his second brigade at Sehore, left the latter place for his onward march on January 8, 1858. He had great difficulties to contend with in the inferiority of his forces, and military men have always attached more merit to his march through Central India on account of the insufficiency in every sense of the means supplied by Government. He never failed to express his obligations to Lord Elphinstone and Sir Henry Somerset for the ready help they at all times gave him, but still the fact remained that Bombay had, prior to his arrival, been denuded of troops, and that his own force was obliged, to use his own words, "to enter on an extensive field of operations," for which, in former days of Indian warfare,

treble the amount of troops would have been considered necessary. At this time the whole of Central India was in the hands of the rebels—from Indore to the Jumna, from the Nerbudda to the Chumbal. The great trunk road from Agra to Bombay was impassable. Gwalior was with difficulty retained by its faithful Maharajah; Saugor was closely besieged; Jhansi, Calpee, and all the chief places were in the hands of the rebels. The thing to be done was to clear this territory, to rescue the people who were besieged, and to open communications between Bombay and Bengal. For this purpose three columns were despatched, the northward column under Major-General Roberts succeeded in reaching Kotah, a strong city, which was taken by assault; a second column under General Whitlock advanced from Madras northward in the rear and on the right flank of Sir Hugh Rose; and the third column under Sir Hugh, starting from Mhow and Indore, was to relieve Saugor, take Jhansi, and finally seize Calpee. The country through which Sir Hugh Rose had to pass was only partially explored. The roads were imperfectly known; and, strangely enough, he was furnished with no map or plan of such an important place as Jhansi. Rivers were to be crossed; fortresses, which seemed impregnable, to be besieged and even garrisoned; pitched battles against overwhelming odds to be fought; mountain passes to be traversed; commissariat stores to be procured and conveyed with the troops—above all, the blazing sun of India, with all the dangers of sunstroke and apoplexy, had to be braved.

Sir Hugh Rose found his soldiers a little out of hand, and he had to threaten trial by court-martial for every act of insubordination or drunkenness. On inspecting them at Sehore, he told them that they had proofs of his determination to reform their discipline, but that, on the other hand, if they behaved like good soldiers, they would find in him the best of friends. The non-commissioned officers reported next day that the men had said in their barrack-rooms that

the best thing they could do was to take Sir Hugh Rose at his word and to be good soldiers, and from that time forth they merited his constant praise. They gave proof, on the first occasion after this, of their new *esprit de corps*. On the march from Sehore, a report came in from the left videttes that they had found the jungle full of armed rebels approaching Sir Hugh Rose's flank, upon which the general ordered up the 3rd Europeans from the centre to cross a dark, sluggish river, with bad banks, and to scour the road with a thick line of skirmishers with supports and reserves. Crossing the river up to their necks and running up its difficult banks, they dashed into the wood like hounds into a cover, and speedily compelled the enemy to flee.

The first serious operations which the Central India field force had to undertake were the capture of the fort of Rathghur and the relief of Saugor. By forced marches it arrived at Saugor in twenty-one days from its start, the first obstacle being what is called the fortress of Rathghur.

On reaching that place Sir Hugh Rose made a complete reconnaissance with the cavalry of the whole country round the high rock on which it was situated. He ascertained that the ridge of rock, a mile and a half in length, covered and surrounded with thick jungle, sloped from the west, where it was precipitous, to the east on the river Beena, where it was accessible. The north front of the fort was the only one which contained houses; the other fronts were merely fortifications. The reconnaissance confirmed in all essentials the information on which Sir Hugh Rose had formed his plan of attack. He carried it out by investing, the same evening, the rock of Rathghur, as closely as the great extent, hills, thick jungle, and a difficult river would allow him. A feint against the town drove the enemy out of it into the fort, and enabled Brigadier Stuart to take possession of the "Eedga," a Mussulman place of prayer opposite the north face, commanding the town, and within range of the main gate of

the fort. On January 28, the "sand-bag" batteries of the left attack having been completed, the fire commenced against the outer wall of the curtain of the fort with such good effect that it was evident that a practicable breach would soon be made.

After several skirmishes in the outskirts, the breach was reported practicable for an assault; but meanwhile the rebel garrison, despite their boasted determination to hold Rathghur or die, had not been able to stand the shelling or to meet the approaching assault. They evacuated the fort in the night by an ancient sallyport and a hole dug under the parapet to the south-west, availing themselves of that side being guarded by the Bhopal contingent, who were untrained troops; to make their escape. On their retreat being reported they were pursued vigorously, and numbers of them were killed or taken prisoners. Among the prisoners were Mahomed Fazil Khan (a relation of the Regent of Bhopal), and the military chief of the rebels in the district, Nawab Kamder Khan.

Immediately after this, Sir Hugh Rose received an express, reporting that a large body of rebels, reinforced by such of the garrison as had escaped from Rathghur, had concentrated at Barodia, a strong village on the left bank of the river Beena, with a "gurry," or small fort, surrounded by dense jungle, situated about twenty-two miles from Rathghur. The rebels were under the command of the Rajah of Banpore, the best leader Sir Hugh Rose encountered. He had previously distinguished himself, according to Sir R. Hamilton, by his military qualities. Taking with him the greater part of his troops, the General made a forced march the same day at twelve o'clock in a hot sun to Barodia, leaving a brigadier with the remainder of his force to protect the camp and his communications. The jungle on the road to Barodia was very thick. The flankers of the irregulars, suddenly halting *en route*, reported that the enemy were in ambuscade on the left. It was soon found that their object was to defend the ford

of the river, but Sir Hugh Rose drove them out of this position after an obstinate defence. Following up this advantage at once, the force advanced and attacked the enemy in front of Barodia. The rebels kept up a heavy fire with rockets and brass shells, most ingeniously made by native workmen, one of them killing, by Sir Hugh Rose's side, Captain Neville of the Royal Engineers.

The enemy, driven from their position by the fire of the guns, retired into the village and jungle, where they were shelled and charged gallantly by the British and native cavalry, with infantry supporting. They soon afterwards made a precipitate retreat, and were pursued with loss which they themselves stated at four or five hundred. The immediate result of these operations was the relief of Saugor, on February 3, 1858, to the great joy of the garrison, after the place had been invested by the rebels for eight months. The whole of the civil and military officers came out some distance from Saugor to meet Sir Hugh Rose and his column, expressing their gratitude for their relief by him and his gallant troops. Thus the first object of the campaign was successfully accomplished.

The capture of the strong fort of Garracota, which owed its strength to the skill of French engineers, further secured his communications, and Sir Hugh Rose's object after this success was to reach Jhansi as quickly as possible. Want of supplies, however, chiefly caused by the devastation of the Saugor and neighbouring districts by the rebels, caused a delay, of which the rebels took advantage by occupying the forts of Seroi and Marowra, as well as the difficult passes in the mountainous ridges which separate Bundelcund from the Saugor districts. The passes were three in number, those of Narut, Mudinpoore, and Dhamooney. Sir Hugh Rose resolved to force these passes, more especially as it was necessary to unite his first and second brigades for the attack on Jhansi. He accordingly sent orders to Brigadier Stuart, commanding his first brigade, to march straight from Mhow by the great trunk

road towards Jhansi, whilst he himself moved direct upon the fortress. Narut was, by far, the most difficult of the passes just alluded to, and the enemy, having taken it into his head that Sir Hugh Rose must move through it, increased its natural difficulties by barricading the road with abattis and parapets of boulders. The Rajah of Banpore defended it with about 10,000 men. The next most difficult pass was Dhamooney. Very little was known about Mudinporé, the third pass, but intelligence received by Sir Hugh Rose through Major Orr, and a *reconnaissance forcée*, made him select the last pass for his point of attack, whilst by a series of clever movements he made a strong feint against Narut, which was twenty miles distant. Although Mudinporé was found to be the most accessible of the three passes, it was still difficult, and defended by the Sepoys of the 50th N.I., one of the best mutineer regiments, and by 700 picked Bundeelas.

At about 800 yards from the entrance of the Mudinporé pass, the General saw the enemy in force on the hills to his left, and a heavy fire was opened on his force. Sir Hugh Rose had a spur shot off, his orderly was hit, and there were some men and horses in the battery badly wounded. The rebels were driven with loss from the glen and endeavoured to join a large body of the enemy in the hills on the left of the road; but, not giving them time to breathe, Sir Hugh Rose ordered the heights to be stormed, under cover of the two guns of the Hyderabad contingent. This was most effectively done, and a squadron of the 14th Light Dragoons pursued them for a considerable distance. The next day the fort of Seroi fell into his hands, and the day after that, the fort of Marowra, which was evacuated on the approach of our force; and so complete was the surrender that Sir Robert Hamilton annexed it with a proclamation and military ceremony.

Sir Hugh Rose then continued his march to Jhansi. Great importance was attached to the fall of this fortress and city by Lord Canning, Lord Clyde, and Lord

Elphinstone. It was regarded as the stronghold of the rebel forces in Central India, and was garrisoned by 10,000 Velaitees and Bundeelas, besides 1,500 mutinous sepoys, of whom 400 were cavalry. The number of guns in the city and fort was estimated at from thirty to forty. Anxious as were Lord Canning and the Commander-in-Chief that Jhansi should speedily fall, they were so impressed with its strength and with the inadequacy of Sir Hugh Rose's force for its attack that Lord Clyde wrote to him offering the option of proceeding instead towards Banda. But Sir Hugh Rose felt so strongly the danger of leaving such a stronghold in his rear that he determined to take it at all costs.

Not having been furnished with any plan of the city and fortress, Sir Hugh Rose had to reconnoitre all the ground and positions in the vicinity of Jhansi. The great strength of the fort, natural as well as artificial, and its extent, entitled it to a place amongst fortresses. It stood on an elevated rock, rising out of a plain and with its numerous outworks of masonry presented a very imposing appearance. Its walls of granite varied from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, and were further protected by extensive and elaborate works of the same solid construction, all within the walls, with front and flanking embrasures for artillery fire, and loopholes, of which in some places there were five tiers, for musketry. Guns placed on the high towers of the fort commanded the country all around. One tower, called the "White Turret," had been raised in height by the rebels and armed with heavy ordnance.

The chief of the rebel artillery and engineers was a first-rate artilleryman. The manner in which the rebels also served their guns, repaired their defences, and reopened fire from batteries and guns repeatedly shut up, was excellent. Some batteries returned shot for shot. The women were seen working in the batteries and carrying ammunition. The "Garden Battery" was fought under

the black flag of the Fakeers. During the siege the Ranee of Jhansi and her ladies, richly attired, generally visited the "Black Tower" in the cool of the evening to see the operations. A bombardier commanding one of the breaching guns reported to Sir Hugh Rose on one occasion that "he had covered the Queen and her ladies with his gun," and asked permission to fire on them. The General told him that he did not approve of that sort of warfare, cruel and dangerous an enemy as the Ranee had been and continued to be.

Sir Hugh Rose had made arrangements on March 30 for the storming, but the general action on April 1 with the so-called army of the Peshwa, which advanced across the Betwa, to relieve Jhansi, viz., 20,000 men under Tantia Topee with reinforcements of heavy guns, caused the assault to be deferred.

At sunset, of the 30th, the enemy lit an immense bonfire on a rising ground on the Jhansi side of the Betwa, as a signal to the town of their arrival; it was answered by salvoes from all the batteries of the fort and city, and shouts of extreme joy from their defenders. It was evident that they sought a battle with Sir Hugh Rose's force. This self-confidence was explained afterwards by prisoners who stated that Tantia Topee had been informed by his spies that nearly all the Central India field force were scattered and engaged in the siege and investment, and that he could easily destroy the few who guarded the camp. The fact is that Jhansi had proved so strong, and the ground to be watched by cavalry was so extensive, that the force had more than enough on its hands. But Sir Hugh Rose relied on the spirit of the British soldier which he knew always rises with difficulties, and resolved, whilst he fought a general action with the enemy, not to relax the siege. He had, however, only 900 men available to meet the enemy.

The Major-General always acted on the principle that the best way with an Eastern foe for making up nume-

rical inferiority is a determined attack on their weak point, and, if possible, on their rear. He had therefore intended to commence the attack at daylight, to advance in line, to pour into the rebels the fire of all his guns, and then to turn and double up their left flank. But the enemy, before daybreak, covered by a cloud of skirmishers, advanced against him. Upon this the General ordered his skirmishers to uncover his line from their centre by retiring alternately on his right and left flanks, forming obliquely on them. As soon as the line was uncovered, he opened fire on the centre of the enemy, which had its effect.

To foil a formidable flank attack, he ordered Captain Lightfoot, R.A., to move with half his battery at a trot to enfilade the enemy's right whilst he himself galloped with a division of the Eagle Troop Bombay Horse Artillery to take the enemy's left *en écharpe*. When about half way a round shot knocked over one of the guns. Sir Hugh Rose had nothing left for it but to go on with the single gun and stop the enemy's extension to the left by firing shrapnel on it, and he instantly ordered the troop of the 14th Light Dragoons and two troops of the Hyderabad cavalry to advance and attack in line, in echelon from the left, the remaining Hyderabad cavalry being placed in echelon on the right flank.

But these men, who later on, it must be said, behaved with great gallantry, would not obey the order, notwithstanding the earnest efforts of the officers and non-commissioned officers to get them to move. In this dilemma Sir Hugh Rose had to order up a troop of the 14th Light Dragoons, in reserve in the second line, to replace them, and another Horse Artillery gun to reinforce the one gun in action, whilst he himself and his staff, with Captain Need's troop of the 14th Light Dragoons in front, attacked and enveloped in some degree the enemy's left and left rear. The enemy poured a heavy fire into the cavalry, the Velaitees jumping up on high

rocks and boulders to load and fire. Captain Rose, A.D.C., literally attempted to charge up these impassable rocks but was ordered by the Major-General to desist. But before they could reload their matchlocks the charge was into their left.

In order to rapidly follow up this success, Sir Hugh Rose advanced straight against the enemy's centre, when the retreat of the rebels became a complete rout. Upon this he moved forward the whole of his artillery and cavalry in pursuit. Neither the jungle, which was set on fire to stop the pursuit, nor difficult ground, could check the ardour of the pursuing troops, who saw within their reach the great prize—the enemy's heavy artillery. The battery advantageously placed on two rising grounds then came into action with the enemy, who were crossing the Betwa with their siege train, and completed the success of the day. Sir Hugh Rose pursued the enemy till dark, taking the whole of the siege train and the guns on the other side of the river, eighteen guns in all, with a loss to the rebels of upwards of 1,500 men. Thus, without relaxing in the least the investment of the fortified city and fortress of Jhansi, the Central India field force fought and completely routed the enemy. Following up this great success with rapidity, Sir Hugh Rose determined to storm Jhansi at once. He, therefore, on April 2, issued a general order for the assault next day of the defences of the city wall, of which a copy, with the plan of attack, was furnished to the officers in command.

The left attack, ably and gallantly conducted by Brigadier Stuart, succeeded perfectly, its right column passing, without loss or difficulty, through the breach. The escalade on the left of the breach was gallantly led by Lieutenant (now Colonel) Webber, and the "Rocket Bastion" was finally taken after a severe struggle inside the bastion. The devotion and gallantry of the 86th regiment in the assault and subsequent movement was specially marked in this operation. The right attack was

not, at first, so fortunate on account of the breaking of the scaling ladders; but eventually an entry was made into the city on all sides, notwithstanding the desperate attempts of the besieged to prevent it.

One incident of the assault deserves preservation, and that was the death of Lieutenant Dick. He had, some days before the assault, committed a serious offence in screening a sergeant of the Sappers who had been "looting," in spite of the General's most positive orders against it. Such an example was so fatal to discipline that Lieutenant Dick would have been tried by court-martial. Sir Hugh Rose therefore sent for and told him on the eve of the assault of the punishment to which he had rendered himself liable, adding: "But I have heard of your high promise and good qualities, and I cannot subject you to a punishment which would be ruinous to your career, and deprive you of the honour of the assault. I therefore pardon you, and I know you will do your duty to-morrow." On putting his foot on the step of the scaling-ladder, Lieutenant Dick said to a brother officer, "I never can be sufficiently obliged to Sir Hugh Rose; tell him how I have done my duty." He ran up the ladder, received several shots from the enemy, and fell mortally wounded to the ground.

Soon after this, the right and left attacks were concentrated in the palace, and Sir Hugh Rose gained a large part of the city by occupying the "Burra Gong" gate, an important position. Here the General saw his nephew, Captain Rose, A.D.C., of the Rifle Brigade, save a man of the 86th lying wounded, by taking his rifle and bayoneting his assailant.

The next day Sir Hugh Rose and Brigadier Stuart occupied the rest of the city by a combined movement in the hope of capturing the Ranee,* but she had escaped during the night through the treachery of some of the men of the native contingents.

* She was nearly captured by Lieut. Doster in the pursuit.

Thus ended, on April 3, 1858, the siege of Jhansi, which, for want of space, is here so imperfectly described. In that siege the Central India field force had to contend against an enemy more than double its number and fighting behind formidable fortifications, who defended themselves afterwards from house to house in a spacious city. For seventeen days and nights the investing force had not taken off their clothes or unsaddled their horses. The nature of the defence and the strictness of the investment gave rise to continued and fierce combats. But the discipline and spirit of the troops enabled them to overcome all difficulties, and to take the strongest fortress in Central India in an incredibly short time, with a loss to the rebels of 5,000 men.

The men of the Central India field force treated with humanity the women and children of Jhansi. Neither the desperate resistance of the rebels nor the recollection of the revolting and wholesale murders perpetrated the preceding year at that place could make the troops forget that women and children are always spared by English soldiers. So far from hurting, the troops were seen sharing their rations with them. Sir Hugh Rose also gave orders that the prisoners should be fed out of the prize grain.

Having left at Jhansi as a garrison a small force forming part of his second brigade, Sir Hugh Rose marched with his first brigade towards Calpee on April 25, 1858. He received information *en route* that the Sepoy garrison of Calpee, reinforced by Velaitees under the Rancee of Jhansi, and the Gwalior contingent and other rebels, the whole under the command of Tantia Topee, had occupied Koonch, where they were resolved to make a determined opposition. The enemy had skilfully and strongly fortified the west part of the town, difficult to attack because surrounded by woods, gardens, and temples, with high walls. Sir Hugh Rose, acting on his usual plan that nothing put the rebels out so much as turning their flank and threatening their rear, resolved to mask the fortified front

and to attack Koonch in flank. In accordance with these tactics he made a very extensive night march to the left, and a little after daybreak arrived by means of good guides opposite the west side of Koonch, and in rear of its fort and the centre of the town, having turned and taken in rear all the enemy's strong defences of the Jhansi gate. The troops were as usual in capital spirits, especially when they saw the object of their night march fulfilled. After they had rested, and breakfasted on hot coffee, meat, and bread, the General arranged for the attack.

A wing of the 86th Regiment and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry were thrown into skirmishing order, supported on the flank by detachments of artillery and cavalry, the remainder of the attacking force being formed into a second line. The skirmishers of the Bombay Native Infantry, under cover of the guns, charged into the wood temples and walled gardens with great gallantry, whilst the 86th Regiment, making a circuit to the left, took all the obstacles in their front. The enemy, seeing their line of defence thus broken and their right completely turned, retired in masses from Koonch to the extensive plains stretching towards Calpee, forming an irregular and long line five or six deep in some places, covered by skirmishers at close distances who at intervals were in "gouls" or small masses, a mode of skirmishing peculiar to natives of India. Such however was the vigorous character of the pursuit that they soon became a helpless column of runaways, losing some 500 or 600 men, besides several guns. During the operations before Koonch, the men of the 71st and 3rd Europeans dropped down in numbers on the field, struck by the sun. In fact the sun was a far more deadly enemy than the rebels, for there was no shade while the action was going on. The General himself had fallen three times from sunstroke, but continued to struggle against it until the victory was won, when the men, completely worn out, moved off towards the encamping ground on the Calpee side of Koonch.

It would have been a fault against strategy if Sir Hugh Rose had marched on Calpee leaving the strong fort Loharee, held by Velaitees, six or seven miles on his left flank. He therefore detached a small force to attack and take it. The fort was too strong to batter with field artillery, and the only entrance was by the gate, which was blown in by the old Indian plan of hanging bags of gunpowder on it, under cover of musketry and artillery fire. The gate was then stormed. A desperate struggle took place within the first gate. A soldier named Whirlpool, who had already been honourably mentioned for taking two wounded soldiers who had fallen with broken ladders at Jhansi away on his shoulders, distinguished himself remarkably in this dangerous post. Using his bayonet with the utmost dexterity and strength, he despatched several of his enemies, and with an officer and his comrades followed the rebels into the second gate, charging round the banquette and interior of the fort, and killing all in it. Whirlpool received not fewer than nineteen wounds, some so severe in the neck that, as his comrades put him into the dhoolie, he said, "Take care, lads, and don't shake my head, or else it will come off." Of course the Major-General had every possible attention paid to this brave man; he made a remarkable recovery, and received 6d. a day beyond his usual pension, besides the Victoria Cross. Sir Hugh Rose always thought that his name of Whirlpool was assumed, and so it turned out to be, for from a parish return from Dundalk he learnt that he was twenty-five years of age, a Protestant, that his name, so far as the writer of this article remembers, was Conker, and that his nearest of kin was his father, who had been postmaster in that town. When Sir Hugh Rose was in command in Ireland, the whole family came to thank him for the kindness he had shown to this hero, who was then in New South Wales.

Sir Hugh Rose had received an express from the civil officer at Koonch, that if he did not march at once to the

right bank of the Jumna, the enemy in Calpee—the Gwalior contingent, the Queen of Jhansi, and the Rao Sahib—and the enemy stationed under the Nawab of Banda at Nowgong, twenty miles south-west of Calpee, would cut him off, and prevent him “giving a hand,” as ordered by the Supreme Government of India, to Lord Clyde.

He therefore made forced marches to the Jumna, and, despite the incredible sufferings of the men, succeeded in arriving in time. A story is told of the sick that when the General asked the men if they had any complaints, “Complaints, sir,” said the excellent surgeon of the 71st, “they haven’t a single thing which they would have in an English hospital in camp, at home or in the field: but,” he added, “they have no complaints, except one, and that is, they cannot march with you to-morrow against the enemy.” The men raising their heads from their knapsacks smiled in assent. Sir Hugh Rose answered that he had had good experience of their courage and devotion which were worthy of their antecedents.

The Central India field force had now to contend not only against the rebel army, fighting with all advantages of superior numbers and knowledge of the ground, but with a Bengal sun at its maximum of summer heat. The number of officers and men on the sick list increased daily and added to the difficulties of transport. Water and forage, were also scanty on the march, only muddy water was available. A check or still worse a defeat, before Calpee in the advanced state of the hot season with the rains close at hand, would have resuscitated rebellion throughout India, compromised the safety of Cawnpore, and exposed to a dangerous flank attack the extensive line of operations of the Commander-in-Chief.

Calpee was situated on a high rock rising from the Jumna, and surrounded by miles of quite unfathomable ravines twisting in a most extraordinary manner. Sir Hugh Rose’s plan of attack was, briefly, that the Bengal force on the opposite side of the Jumna should shell vigor-

ously the fort of Calpee and also that part of the defences facing his position at Golowlee, whilst he himself, with his first brigade, attacked Calpee by its left, making a strong feint with the second brigade against the right of the enemy at Banda, to be converted into a real attack if feasible. The enemy, coming out of their impregnable ambuscade in these ravines, unceasingly hampered the troops on the left. To learn, if possible, the intentions and force of the enemy in Calpee, Sir Hugh Rose sent into the place one of those adventurers who in campaigns hang about a camp, know the country perfectly, and generally gain reliable information. About midnight of May 21, a sentry woke him at his tent, and said that a man wished to speak to him, and this messenger forthwith appeared. He told the General that the plan of the enemy was to make a grand attack on his position the following morning between 10 and 11 a.m. This late hour did not surprise Sir Hugh Rose, as intercepted correspondence showed that the leaders of the rebel forces in Calpee had issued a circular order to all the troops under their command that they were not in future to attack the English at daylight, but between those hours when the rays of the sun were most fatal. Acting upon this information, which was told with great detail and with apparent truthfulness, Sir Hugh Rose provided for the possibility of its being treacherous by strengthening his right instead of weakening it, and placing himself in the centre of his line, with the Camel Corps. Shortly afterwards an orderly came to him from Brigadier Stuart, commanding on the right, to report that the enemy had shown themselves at several heads of the ravines, and that he would probably be attacked. Sir Hugh Rose accordingly ordered the Camel Corps to reinforce the right. Dismounting the men of the Camel Corps, and forming them into line, he ascended the rising ground in double time, then moving down the hill with the dismounted Camel Corps men, he ordered a volley to be fired into the rebels, and with a cheer charged them with

the bayonet. This charge relieved Brigadier Stuart and his position from immediate danger.

In the meantime reports were received by the General to the effect that his left had successfully and completely driven back into Calpee the force under the Ranee of Jhansi and Rao Sahib. Sir Hugh Rose at once saw that his right course was to profit by this defeat and attack Calpee the next morning before break of day. But the enemy, who had been watching his movements, and whose *morale* had experienced the full effect of their defeat, had begun immediately after this repulse to evacuate Calpee, and when the British force advanced, their last man was rapidly retreating by a road considerably to its left, from which it was separated by ravines. In short, Calpee had been won by the general action of the preceding day on the banks of the Jumna. In describing this important and successful operation Sir Hugh Rose wrote: "So great and varied were the difficulties with which the Central India field force had to contend, all of which I have not thought it necessary to detail, that having stated so fully the obligations I am under to human aid, I should not do justice to my own feelings, nor I am sure to those of the generous spirits whom I led, were I not to say how large a share of our gratitude for preservation and success is due to the signal mercy of Heaven." He was himself prostrated with sickness. He had had three attacks of the sun at Koonch, a fourth in the action of Muttra, and a fifth in the general action before Calpee. The capture of Calpee completed the plan of the campaign which the Government of India had drawn out for the Central India force. Marching from Mhow in November, 1857, that force, in five months, had traversed Central India, had beaten the enemy on every occasion in thirteen general actions and sieges, and had captured some of the strongest fortresses in India.

After the capture of Calpee, Sir Hugh Rose, worn out with fatigue and successive sunstrokes, was advised by his

medical officer to return at once to Bombay, and he had actually applied for leave to go when intelligence reached him which created a sensation throughout India only equalled by that which was caused by the first mutiny, to the effect that the rebel army under Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi, while retreating across the Chumbal river, had changed their route, and had attacked the Maharajah Scindiah at Bahardurpore, nine miles from Gwalior, when His Highness's troops, with the exception of a few of his bodyguard, had treacherously gone over to the enemy.

Thus the rebels who had fled in disorder and helplessness from Calpee were now unexpectedly set up again with abundance of money, a capital park of artillery, plenty of war material, and Scindiah's army as their allies—the best organised and drilled of all the native levies. To render this state of things still more embarrassing, Gwalior fell into rebel hands at the most unfavourable time of the year for military operations, on the eve of the great rains (the monsoons), and when the heat of the summer was at its maximum.

This serious news reached Sir Hugh Rose directly after his leave had been granted. He felt much better after some days' rest, and at once telegraphed to the Governor-General to say that he would be glad to take command of the force ordered to retake Gwalior. Upon this Lord Canning replied, thanking him "earnestly for this generous act of devotion to the public service," and accepting his services. Brigadier-General (now Lord) Napier had been appointed to succeed Sir Hugh Rose on his projected departure from Bombay, but with that generosity which always characterises him, he told Lord Canning that he would be delighted to serve as second in command, to which the Governor-General agreed, and Sir Hugh Rose was glad to have so valuable an officer to assist him in the Gwalior operations. The march to Gwalior was attended with considerable difficulties on account of the badness of the roads, the want of maps, difficult rivers to be crossed, and

such intense heat that the thermometer on one occasion stood at 130° in the shade, when it broke, but Sir Hugh Rose hoped that a successful attack of the enemy, outside and inside the city, would, as at Calpee, be followed by the capture of the fort, for to have besieged the fortress scientifically would have lasted too long.

On June 16 (1858), after marching all night, Sir Hugh Rose arrived within four or five miles of Morar, and made whilst the men were preparing their breakfasts a close reconnaissance of the cantonments. Certain that his men would be reinvigorated by a move against them, and that the *morale* of the enemy would be damped by his attacking them unexpectedly after a long night's march, he resolved to do so at once, and accordingly placed the troops in order of battle. The advance, covered by the Hyderabad cavalry, was made in two lines; the first line under his own command, the second under Brig.-Gen. Napier. As the troops advanced, the enemy in the ravines were forced to show themselves by Brigadier-General Napier, and a sharp action took place between them and the 71st, who, as usual, behaved admirably, completely beating the enemy with great loss. The commander of the second line merited Sir Hugh Rose's warmest thanks for his skilful management. The success of the day was completed by a most admirable pursuit of the rebels by a wing of the 14th Light Dragoons. The capture of the Morar cantonments had good results. It was the first defeat which the combined forces of the Calpee and Gwalior rebels had sustained, and it enabled Sir Hugh Rose to get immediately into communication with the co-operating force at Kotah-ki-Serai, and to reconnoitre Gwalior from its east side. In the meantime, a sharp encounter with the enemy near Kotah-ki-Serai enabled the force there partially to occupy the heights between that place and Gwalior, after considerable resistance. In a gallant charge of the 8th Hussars, when they passed right through the enemy's camp and carried everything before them, the Queen of Jhansi, disguised as a page, was

killed by a hussar, and the tree was afterwards shown where her body was burnt. Thus fell the bravest and most capable military leader of the rebels. As Lord Strathnairn afterwards said of her, "Woman as she was, she was the best man of them all."

After some sharp encounters, Sir Hugh Rose entered the Lushkar, or town, without material difficulty, and marching up the main street with a squadron of the 14th Light Dragoons, took possession of Scindiah's palace without bloodshed, with the useful aid of Captain (now Sir Richard) Meade, who, being known to the Gwalior men, volunteered to ride forward alone into the courtyard, and succeeded in inducing the excited rebels in it to give it up peaceably to the British force.

In the early morning Sir Hugh Rose moved with General Stuart's brigade to the left of the Gwalior rock, to turn it where it was not precipitate. At this moment Lieutenant Rose, son of Rose of Kilravock, commanding the advanced skirmishers, saw a little beneath him a falling of the ground where the second gate into the fort was situated, and collecting his skirmishers in line, he fired a volley into the cavity and stormed it, killing every man that was in it and effecting a capture as successful as it was bold. The Major-General came up with the 86th Regiment from the left of the rock, which was scaled without much difficulty, and entered the courtyard, where in the ancient guard-room cut out of the rock Lieutenant Rose lay dying. Sir Hugh Rose shook his Highland relative warmly by the hand, not knowing his wound was fatal, and promised to apply for the Victoria Cross for him. He smiled and was most gratified, but shortly afterwards expired.

Sir Hugh Rose then sent an express to Brigadier-General Napier, requesting him to pursue the enemy as far and as closely as he could. This was done most effectually. He also wrote to Sir R. Hamilton informing him of the capture of Gwalior, and suggesting that the Maharajah Scindiah should return to his capital. This His Highness

did the next morning, making his entry accompanied by the General and his staff. Thus ended on June 20, 1858, the taking of Gwalior. The operations were briefly summed up by Sir Hugh Rose in a despatch to the Government of India, dated October 13, 1858, in which he said:—

“As the Commander of the troops engaged, it is my duty to say that although a most arduous campaign had impaired the health and strength of my force, their discipline, devotion and courage remained unvarying and unshaken, enabling them to make a very rapid march in summer heat to Gwalior, fight and gain two actions on the road, one at Morar Cantonments, the other at Kotah-ki-Serai, arrive at their posts from great distances and by bad roads, before Gwalior on the day appointed, June 19, and on that same day carry by assault all the enemy's positions on strong heights and in most difficult ground, taking one battery after another, twenty-seven pieces of artillery in the action, twenty-five in the pursuit, besides the guns in the fort, the old city, the new city, and finally the rock of Gwalior, held to be one of the most important and strongest fortresses in India. I marched on June 9 from Calpee, and on the 19th of the same month the Gwalior States were restored to their Prince.”

The approvals of the Indian authorities on the fall and capture of Gwalior were both numerous and flattering, but history has recorded a still more durable tribute of praise and admiration to the gallant and victorious commander. After the recapture of Gwalior, Sir Hugh Rose made over the command to Brigadier-General Napier, and on June 29, 1858, proceeded to Bombay, and re-assumed command of the Poona division. His services were not forgotten at home, for he was created a G.C.B. (Jan. 3, 1858), and appointed to the colonelcy of the 45th Regiment. His name was also included in the vote of thanks passed on April 14, 1859, in both Houses of Parliament for the Indian Mutiny campaign, when his services were referred

to by the Earl of Derby, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Stanley, and Lord Palmerston in the most eulogistic terms. The difficulties under which those services were rendered may perhaps be best inferred from the following extract from a letter to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Morton, dated June 20, 1858:—"I took Koonch in a heat which cannot be told—115° in the shade. I was three times paralysed by the sun, but they threw buckets of cold water over me and gave me restoratives, and, thank God, I was able to ride again and join the combat. Owing to God's great mercy I have had thirteen fights, and always won the day without a check. Your old regiment, the 71st, had twelve men struck dead in the ranks. Afterwards at Calpee it was 119° in the shade, and 200 out of less than 400 men of the 25th Native Infantry fell dead, struck by sun. I delight in the 71st, and I have a splendid regiment in the 86th, which go at anything."

How he received his honours may be judged from this letter to his mother (August 15, 1858): "I have received a most kind and handsome letter from the Duke of Cambridge telling me that Her Majesty has given me the G.C.B. Lord Elphinstone has also been exceedingly kind. He gave me on my return here a beautiful Arab mare,* and he told me that he had received a letter from the Duke, in which he spoke of me in the handsomest way. The kindness of everyone here is remarkable. Each regiment has given me banquets. A deputation of all the officers and civil servants of Poona came to me to say that they wished to give me a dinner or a ball in proof of their admiration of what they call my brilliant conduct. I chose a ball for the sake of the ladies, young and old, who, poor things, in India *all* dance." But he adds plaintively, "Public favour is a very fitful thing, and, much as I appreciate all this kindness, I receive it with the knowledge that it may change in a contrary direction at any moment."

* This mare Lord Strathnairn brought home to England with him in 1865, and bred a large and profitable stock from her.

Sir Hugh Rose always wished to give all the credit he could to the soldiers who served him so well.

On March 29, 1860, Sir Hugh Rose was appointed to the command-in-chief of the Bombay army, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, but after holding that post for a few months, he was transferred (June 4, 1860), on the departure of Lord Clyde, to the still more important office of Commander-in-Chief in India. As the object of this article is to give a sketch of Sir Hugh Rose's services in the field it is impossible to add to its length by a detailed narration of his five years' administration of the army in India. But at the same time a brief reference to the principal features of that administration may not be considered out of place. One of the first duties which Sir Hugh Rose set before himself, after taking over the command-in-chief, was to improve the discipline of the army, which from the effects of the Mutiny and the long campaign consequent on it was in a somewhat lax condition. This state of things was especially apparent in that portion of it known as the Indian or European, in contradistinction to the Queen's, army, and it culminated in openly mutinous conduct of an aggravated character in the 5th Royal European Regiment at Dinapore. Finding his attempts at crushing this spirit of insubordination frustrated in a material degree, Sir Hugh Rose was forced to warn the army at large of the serious notice he intended to take of the next case of insubordination that came to his notice. This happened to be one in the same regiment. Private Thomson disobeyed a superior officer, and for this was found guilty and sentenced to be shot. The Commander-in-Chief resolved to enforce the sentence. The execution of the sentence was followed by the disbandment of the regiment. These measures, in combination with others equally firm but necessary, put a stop at once to further indiscipline in the army, and elicited the full approval of the governments in India and at home.

Another matter which Sir Hugh Rose had much at

heart, in connection with the European soldier in India, was the creation of some employment for him in the weary hours of cantonment life. With this object he introduced a system of workshops and soldiers' gardens (July, 1861), which, after fair trial, proved extremely beneficial to regiments, and was in consequence adopted throughout the British army at home and abroad. The Native army no less occupied his close attention, and became in his hands a splendid fighting machine.

In a general sense, Sir Hugh Rose regarded the amalgamation of the Queen's and Company's forces, which took place during the early part of his tenure of office as Commander-in-Chief, as one of the most trying and difficult duties ever entrusted to him. Fortunately he was on intimate terms of friendship with the Viceroy (Earl Canning), and their views on the subject of amalgamation so entirely coincided, that, notwithstanding material differences of opinion on some points with the Home Government the changes were ultimately carried out without undue difficulty or friction. Whilst, during his command, Sir Hugh Rose attended specially to the comforts and discipline of the men, one of the chief features of his tenure of office was his system of selection of officers by merit, which earned for him the respect of all those who esteemed merit before favour. His personal inspections of the troops, moreover, were frequent and minute, entailing on him much fatigue and extra work. Amongst other long journeys he rode, in 1862, down the north-west frontier of India at the rate of sixty miles a day for twelve days with a few selected staff officers, and made a very valuable report upon the subject.

For reasons already stated, it is not possible to say more than that in April, 1865, Sir Hugh Rose gave up the chief command of the army, after a five years' tenure, amidst much regret and many valued evidences of goodwill on the part of officers and men. As he travelled down to Calcutta *en route* for home, the various regiments serving under him sent their bands to the railway stations through

which he passed, to play, on his arrival and departure, the tunes he was known to like. Addresses were also presented to him by many of the civil bodies in the larger towns. Indian public opinion was, in short, expressive and even indulgent in its appreciation of his services as Commander-in-Chief. One of the most gratifying testimonies to his services was that given at a farewell entertainment at Simla, on September 27, 1864, when Sir Robert Napier (now Lord Napier of Magdala) said:—

"Never has the army of India had a chief more earnestly solicitous to ensure its efficiency than his Excellency Sir Hugh Rose; never, I believe, has the army of India been in a more efficient condition than it is at the present moment; never has the army of India had a chief whom it would have followed to the field against a foe worthy of it with fuller confidence of success than this army would feel under its present Commander-in-Chief."

In reply to this, Sir Hugh Rose said: "I have to thank the army for an unvarying goodwill and never-failing support, and I regret to give up this great command which must satisfy any honourable ambition, and which I owe, not to my merits, but to the favour of my Sovereign and to the brilliant success of the British and Native troops of the Bengal army, whose bravery and devotion in the Central Indian campaign will est in my recollection as long as memory lasts."

On his arrival in England, Sir Hugh was received with the kindest manifestations of welcome by all classes of the community. He was at once appointed to be Commander of the Forces in Ireland, and was soon afterwards raised to the Peerage under the title of Baron Strathnairn of Strathnairn and Jhansi. Thus, his [active career ended amid the scenes where it had begun fifty years before.

During his early tenure of office in Ireland, he was confronted with the somewhat formidable Fenian Conspiracy of 1866—67. By good organisation and skilful disposition of the troops under his command, Lord

Strathnairn succeeded in keeping Ireland in those stirring times under control, and in preventing that deep and widespread conspiracy from growing into an open rebellion.

Lord Strathnairn, besides being one of Her Majesty's commissioners for the Lieutenancy of the City of London, was a D.C.L. of Oxford and an Honorary LL.D. of Dublin University. After he gave up the Irish command he lived chiefly in London, where he became a prominent member of society, and was promoted in 1877 to the highest rank in the Army, that of Field-Marshal. Up to the hour of his death he took a keen interest in the military and political questions of the day, speaking and writing frequently and copiously on the evils, as he termed them, of the short service system of enlistment, as contrasted with long service and a pension. He also freely discussed the various campaigns in Afghanistan, South Africa, Egypt, and the Soudan, and the different policies adopted by the Government. But neither for the comparatively inactive life he led in London, nor for the responsible care of his large estates in Hertfordshire, was he fitted by training or temperament, and he often longed to break away from them for active command in the field. The very qualities which made him a distinguished leader of men—such as tenacity of purpose, endurance, a quick temper, an unbending will, a fearlessness of responsibility and of men—were qualities which, at times, brought him into collision in the routine of London political and social life, with both friend and foe alike.

But no one who knew him, even as an acquaintance, could fail to recognise in the gallant old veteran's words and actions a depth of feeling and a straightforwardness of purpose often wanting in themselves. Mistakes he sometimes made, but they were generally mistakes of impulse. His heart was always in the right place. With a sometimes stern exterior, he had a ready gift for the needy, a warm word for the oppressed, and a rebuff for the impostor. At times rushing bravely into the breach to denounce, as

he thought, some incompetent officer, some military failure, or some political intrigue, he made speeches in Parliament which he not only dreaded but had not the physical power to deliver with success, and wrote letters which from their length and persistency often wearied both his secretaries and correspondents. But in principle he was generally right, and he allowed no consideration of fatigue or friendship to stand in the line of conduct which he conscientiously adopted. His hospitality knew no bounds, and it was extended equally to the great and the humble.

What pleased him, perhaps, most in his later years was his appointment, in 1869, to the Colonelcy of the Royal Horse Guards (the Blues). This appointment, conferred on him for those services which, as has already been seen, the Duke of Cambridge so warmly appreciated, gave him special gratification, and up to the last moment of his life he was never tired of speaking of the unvarying kindness and condescension shown him by his Colonel, as he termed the Prince of Wales (Colonel-in-Chief of the Household Brigade), and of the respect and deference he received at all times from the officers and men of the "Blues," from the commanding officer downwards. He was very proud of his regiment, and much valued his connection with it. It was on his application, made on June 18, 1882, that the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief consented to regard the Household Cavalry (Adjutant-General's letter, July 7, 1882) as available for active service in the field. This led (to the intense satisfaction of Lord Strathnairn and of the Household Brigade at large) to the employment, soon afterwards, of detachments from the three regiments in the Egyptian and Soudan campaigns, with such marked honour to the Brigade, and such benefit to the Army at large.

Lord Strathnairn was the last link between the past and present generation of soldiers. The Allwise Disposer of events drew his thoughts into channels which were priceless in comparison with the evanescent allurements of a London existence, or the positions which rank and honour in this

world confer. The old hero was weary and worn in the service of his Queen, but he ever looked forward to that better country of which he had, from his youth up, heard from a good mother who was devoted to him.

He spent much of his time in examining the religious questions of the day, denouncing with no unsparing voice the advance of atheism in English society and politics under the protection of genius and in the garb of religious freedom. With those to whom he gave his confidence, he discussed these questions freely and unremittingly; he, moreover, devoted an hour each morning and evening to his devotions, remembering by name many of those who had fought gallantly under him, and those immediate relations and friends whom he regarded with affection. He died suddenly at Paris on Oct. 16, 1885, without allowing anyone to know of his brief illness. He telegraphed, indeed, to the writer of this article to come over and see him on important business; but it was only possible to arrive a few minutes too late. A faithful servant read to the Marshal, at his own request, the Service for the Sick, and thus the gallant and aged soldier passed calmly away.

A general desire was felt in the army that this veteran public servant should be honoured with a public funeral. But the public made no sign. They had forgotten the services* of a once adulated general. He lies, therefore, in the humble churchyard of Christchurch. We leave him in certain hope that the God of battles will give him that pardon and reward which he daily and earnestly sought, and in trustful confidence that his memory will find an honourable place in England's military history, which can boast of few more chivalrous spirits than Hugh Rose.

OWEN T. BURNES.

* A significant incident happened on the very day of Lord Strathnairn's funeral to prove how easily fame is lost. On the evening of Lord Strathnairn's funeral at Christchurch, the new Indian Commander-in-Chief was entertained at the Mansion House. But of the many speakers, not one paid any tribute to his memory. Such is fame!—*Ed. A. Q. R.*

HOBSON-JOBSONIANA.

"HOBSON-JOBSON": Being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms; Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive. By Colonel HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., LL.D., and the late ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, PH.D., C.I.E., of the Madras Civil Service. John Murray. 1886.

THE Editor of this Review has requested me to give in its pages some account of the work, the title of which is given above, announced for a very long time by Mr. Murray, and at last on the eve of issue.

The book originated in a correspondence between the present writer, who was living at Palermo, and the late lamented Arthur Burnell, of the Madras Civil Service, then occupying various posts in succession, in Tanjore and other districts of Southern and Western India. We had then only once met—at the India Library, but he took a kindly interest in work that engaged me, and this led to an exchange of letters, which continued after his return to India. About 1872—his earliest letter on the subject I cannot find—he mentioned that he was meditating a vocabulary of Anglo-Indian words, and had made some collections for the subject. In reply, it was stated that I also had long been taking note of such words, and that a notion of the same kind as his own had also been at various times floating in my mind; and I proposed that we should combine our labours.

I had not, in fact, the linguistic acquirements needful for carrying through such a task alone, but I had gone through a good deal of the kind of reading that would largely help in instances and illustrations, and had also a strong natural taste for the kind of work.

This was the beginning of the portly double-columned

edifice which is now about to appear, and the completion of which my friend has not lived to see. It was built up from our joint contributions till his untimely death in 1882, and since then almost daily additions have continued to be made both to the material and to the structure. The subject, in fact, had taken so comprehensive a shape that it was becoming difficult to say where its limits lay, or why it should ever end, except for the old reason, which had received such poignant illustration: *ars longa, vita brevis*. And so it has been summarily wound up at last.

Vocabularies of Indian and other foreign words in use among Europeans in the East have not unfrequently been printed. A tolerably copious one appears in the "Index Explanatory," appended by Dr. John Fryer, F.R.S., to his excellent folio, "A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters, being Nine Years' Travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681." Even an earlier example is found in the "Voyages et Observations du Sievr de la Bovllaye-le-Govz, Gentilhomme Angevin," Paris 1653 (reissued in 1657), to which is appended an "Explication de plvsievrz mots, dont l'intelligence est necessaire au Lecteur." Bluteau's great Portuguese dictionary (with supplement filling 10 volumes, small folio, 1712—28) contains a considerable number of Indian words in Lusitanian use, but they have to be laboriously picked out from the mass. A limited example of such a vocabulary occurs as prefixed to "A Voyage to the East Indies," by Mr. Grose, 2nd ed., 1772. At a date a little later than the last the prolonged excitement in England created by the impeachment of Hastings, and kindred matters, led to the publication of other vocabularies. One of these, now before me, is a 12mo. volume, called the "Indian Vocabulary, to which is prefixed the Forms of Impeachment." Stockdale, 1788. No author's name is given. Another is "An Indian Glossary, consisting of some Thousand Words and Terms commonly used in the East Indies . . . extremely serviceable in assisting strangers to acquire with Ease and Quickness the

Language of that Country" (a very questionable statement). By T. T. Robarts, Lieut., &c., of the 3rd Regt., &c., of the Native Infantry, E.I. Printed for Murray & Highly, Fleet-street. 1800." A good deal of this seems taken directly from the former, but no connection is intimated. Within the last year a dictionary of Anglo-Indian terms has been published by Mr. Whitworth, of the Bombay service.

Of works of this kind in existence, such as have been the result of serious labour have been nearly all of a kind purely technical, intended to facilitate the comprehension of official documents by the explanation of terms used in the Revenue department or other branches of Indian administration. The most notable examples are (of briefer and more occasional character) the Glossary appended to the famous "Fifth Report" of the Select Committee of 1812, which was compiled by Sir Charles Wilkins; and, of a far more vast and comprehensive kind, the late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson's "Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms" (4to., 1855), which leaves far behind every other attempt in that kind, and which may perhaps bear re-editing, but can hardly be superseded.*

That kind however is not ours; as a momentary glance at Professor Wilson's Glossary and at ours (or, we might say, even at this article) would manifest. Our work, indeed, in the long course of its compilation, has gone through some modification and enlargement of scope; but hardly such as in any degree to affect its distinctive character, in which something has been aimed at differing in form from any work known to us. In its original conception it was intended to deal with all that class of words which, not in general pertaining to the technicalities of administration, recur constantly in the daily intercourse of the English in India, either as expressing ideas really not provided for by our

* The late eminent Telugu scholar, Mr. C. P. Brown interleaved, with criticisms and addenda, a copy of Wilson, now in the India Library. I went through it and have borrowed a few notes with acknowledgment. But the amount of improvement did not strike me as important.

mother tongue, or supposed by the speakers (often quite erroneously) to express something which is not capable of just denotation by any English term. A certain percentage of such words have been carried to England by the constant reflux to their native shore of Anglo-Indians, who in some degree imbue with their notions and phrasology the circles from which they have gone forth. This effect has also been still more promoted by the currency of a vast mass of literature, of all qualities and for all ages, dealing with Indian subjects; as well as, for years past, by the regular appearance of Indian correspondence in English newspapers, insomuch that a considerable number of the expressions alluded to have not only become familiar in sound to English ears, but have become naturalised in the English language, and are all meeting with ample recognition in the Great Dictionary edited by Dr. Murray.* Of words which have been admitted to full franchise, we may give as examples, *curry*, *toddy*, *veranda*, *cheroot*, *loot*, *nabob*, *teapoy*, *seapoy*, *cowry*; and of others familiar enough to the English ear, though hardly received into citizenship, *e.g.* *compound*, *batta*, *pucka*, *chowry*, *baboo*, *mahout*, *nautch*, *first-chop*, *competition-walla*, *griffin*, &c. But beyond these words, received within the last century or so, and gradually, into half or whole recognition, there are a good many others, long since fully assimilated, which really originated in the adoption of an Indian word, or the modification of an Indian proper name. Such words are *chintz*, *calico*, *gingham*, *shawl*, *palankin*, *mandarin*, *bamboo*, *pagoda*, *typhoon*, *monsoon*, &c., and I may mention among further examples, which may perhaps surprise my readers, the names of three of the boats of a man-of-war, viz., the *cutter*, the *jolly-boat*, and the *dingy* as all (probably) of Indian origin. Even phrases of a different character—slang, indeed, but slang generally supposed to be vernacular as well as vulgar—*e.g.* "that is the *cheese*;" or supposed to

* I have to thank Dr. Murray for a most kindly interchange of communications, by which I have benefited in the revision of the work. This interchange will account for occasional identity in quotations.

be vernacular and profane—e.g. "I don't care a *dam*"—are, in reality, however vulgar they may be, neither vernacular nor profane, but phrases turning upon innocent Hindustani vocables.

We proposed, also, to deal with a *selection* of those administrative terms, which are in such familiar and quotidian use as to prove part of the common Anglo-Indian stock; and to trace all, if possible, to their true origin (a matter on which, in regard to many of the words, those who hourly use them are profoundly ignorant), and to follow them up, by quotation, to their earliest occurrence in literature.

It has been intimated that, as the work proceeded, its scope expanded somewhat, and its authors found it expedient to introduce and trace many words of Asiatic origin which have disappeared from colloquial use—perhaps never entered it—but which occur in old writers on the East. We also judged that it would add to the interest of the work were we to investigate and trace to their origin and true form, so far as was possible to us, many geographical names which are, or have been, in familiar use in books on the East: take as examples *Bombay, Madras, Guardafui, Malabar, Moluccas, Zanzibar, Pegu, Sumatra, Quilon, Seychelles, Ceylon, Java, Ava, Japan, Doaub, Punjaub, &c.*, illustrating these, like every other class of word, by quotations given in chronological order.

Other divagations still from the original project will probably be traced in turning over the pages of the work, in which we have been tempted to introduce sundry subjects of interest which may seem hardly to come within the scope of such a glossary. Still, I know no lawgiver as to such scope, and I am hardly prepared to apologise for what this or that reader may deem to be surplusage; of deficiencies, on the other hand, I am very sensible; of numerous mistakes, I feel abundantly certain. Only a fool or a . . . (fill up the blank, reader, with what proper name you judge most fitting), could suppose that, in a work intersecting so

many fields, he had not fallen into many mistakes. But deficiencies and mistakes, when pointed out, will be gladly amended, should life and opportunity be granted.

The work has been so long the companion of my *hora subsivæ*, a thread running through the joys and sorrows of so many years, in the search for materials first, and then in their handling and adjustment to the edifice,—for their careful building up has been part of my task from the beginning, and the whole of the matter has, I suppose, been written and rewritten, with my own hand, at least four times,—the task has been one of so much interest to dear friends, not a few of whom are no longer here to welcome its appearance in print, that, as may have been seen, I can hardly speak of the work except as mine.

Indeed, in bulk, nearly seven-eighths of it is so. But Burnell contributed so much of value, so much of the essential; in the search for illustration, buying, in numbers, rare and costly books which were not otherwise accessible to him in India; setting me, by his example, on lines of research with which I should have else possibly remained unacquainted; writing letters with such fulness, frequency, and interest on the details of the work up to the summer of his death; that the measure of bulk in contribution is no gauge of his share in the result. In the "Life of Frank Buckland" occur some words in relation to the church bells of Ross, in Herefordshire, which may illustrate with some aptness our mutual relation to the book:—

"It is said that the Man of Ross" (John Kyrle) "was present at the casting of the tenor, or great, bell, and that he took with him an old silver tankard, which, after drinking claret and sherry, he threw in, and had cast with the bell." John Kyrle's was the most precious part of the metal run into the mould, but the shaping of the mould and the larger part of the material came from the labour of another hand.

The words with which we have to do, taking the most extensive view of the field, are, in fact, organic remains

deposited under the various tides of external influence that have washed the shores of India during twenty centuries and more. We find no existing western term to be traceable to the Ophir trade of Solomon; but the Greek and Roman commerce of later centuries has left its fossils on both sides, testifying to the intercourse that once subsisted: *Agallochum*, *carbasus*, *camphor*, *sandal*, *musk*, *pepper*, *ginger*, *lac*, *nard*, *costus*, *opal*, *malabathrum* or *folium Indicum*, *beryl*, *sugar*, *rice* (δρυζα), were products, or names, introduced from India to the Greek and Roman world; whilst *dināra*, *dramma*, perhaps *kastīra* (tin, κασσίτερος), *kasturi* (musk, καστορίον, properly a different but analogous animal product), and a very few more, have remained in Indian literature as testimony to the same intercourse.*

The trade of the Arabs both brought foreign words to India, and picked up and carried westward, in form more or less corrupted, words of Indian origin, some of which have become part of the heritage of all succeeding foreigners in the East. A few of these coming from the earlier centuries, others from the middle ages, had found their way to Europe long before the opening of the Cape navigation to India. Among those to be found in mediæval literature, Western-Asiatic, or European, and which still have a place in our Anglo-Indian or English vocabulary, we may mention *amber-(gris)*, *chank*, *junk*, *jogy*, *kincoob*, *kedgerree*, *fanam*, *calay*, *bankshall*, *mudiliar*, *tindal*, *cranny*; and among others which are still familiar items in the Anglo-Indian colloquial, but which, in one shape or other, had found their way into use on the shores of the Mediterranean at an early date, we may give as examples *bazar*, *brinjall*, *safflower*, *cazee*, *hummal*, *gingely*, *grab*, *murramut*, *dewann* (dogana, douane, &c.).

The conquests and long occupation by the Portuguese

* See A. Weber in "Indian Antiquary," ii. 143, 144. Most of the other Greek words, apart from proper names, which he traces in Sanskrit, are astronomical terms derived from books.

of so many ports on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, have, as might be expected, bequeathed a large number of expressions to the European nations who have followed, and in great part superseded them. The Portuguese language, in a more or less degenerate form, became the *lingua franca* of intercourse not only between European and native, but occasionally between Europeans of different nationalities, and continued to occupy this position till a somewhat late period in the last century. And thus a large number of our Anglo-Indian colloquialisms, even if eventually traceable to native derivation, have come to us through the medium of Portuguese, and often bear tokens of having passed through that alembic. Not a few of these are familiar all over India, but the number current in the south is larger still. A good many other Portuguese words also, though they can hardly be said to be recognised elements in the Anglo-Indian colloquial, have been introduced either into Hindustani generally, or into that shade of it in use among natives in habitual contact with Europeans. Of words among Anglo-Indian colloquial terms, obsolete or persistent, which are essentially Portuguese, we may quote *goglet*, *gram*, *caste*, *peon*, *padre*, *mistry* or *maistry*, *mustees*, *casters*, and *gentoo* (these three being now obsolete). Add *Moor* (for a Mahommedan, now obsolete, except in the modification *Moorman*, still surviving in Madras and Ceylon), *almyra*, *aya*, *joss*, *brab*, *bayadère*, *cobra*, *compradore*, and *linguist* (these two surviving in China), *joss*, *pomfret*, *cameez*, *palmyra*, *margosa* (in South India and Ceylon), *bandeja* (a tray, now obsolete), *kittysoll* (an umbrella, also now obsolete, but it survived ten years ago in the Customs tariff); *cuspadore* (a spittoon), and *covid* (a cubit or ell; these two probably obsolete everywhere), with *batel*, *foras*, *oart*, and others peculiar to Bombay. Native words, which bear the mark of having come to us through the Portuguese, may be illustrated by such as *palanquin*, *mandarin*, *mangelin* (a small weight for pearls, &c.), *mangosteen*, *monsoon*, *typhoon*, *jack-fruit*, *batta*, *curry*, *chop*, *congee*, *coir*, *cutch*, *catamaran*,

cassanar, *nabob*, *avadavat*, *betel*, *benzoin*, *corge*, *copra*, *mord-de-chien* or *mordexin* (for cholera), the former form due to a false etymology, both now quite obsolete among English-speaking people. A few examples of Hindustani words from the Portuguese are *chābī* (a key), *bāola* (a portmantau), *bālī* (a bucket), *martol* (a hammer), *tauliya* (a towel, Port. *toalha*) *lilām* (an auction).

The Dutch language has not contributed much to our stock. Dutch and English arrived in India contemporaneously, and though both inherited from the Portuguese, we have not been the heirs of the Dutch to any great extent, except in Ceylon. Even there the words bequeathed by them do not seem to be many; one that occurs to memory is *burgher*. The Dutch admitted people of mixed descent to a kind of citizenship, and these people were distinguished from the pure natives by this term; which, I may observe, had a curiously different application in the Madras Presidency, where it was a corrupt form of *Badaga*, the name given to a people of the Neilgherry Hills; to say nothing of Scotland, where Burghers and Antiburghers have long been condensed into elements of the U.P. Church.

Southern India has contributed words that are in hourly use also from Calcutta to Peshawur, some of them already noted under another cleavage, e.g., *betel*, *mango*, *jack*, *cheroot*, *mungoose*, *pariah*, *teak*, *patcharee*, *chatty*, *catechu*, *tope*, *curry*, *mulligatawny*, *congee*. *Mamooty* (a digging tool) is familiar in certain branches of the service, owing to its having anciently found a place in the nomenclature of the ordnance department. It is Tamil, *manvelli*, 'earthcutter.' *Hackery*, a word of difficult etymology, comes to Bengal from Bombay.

As to Hindce and Oordoo words adopted as Anglo-Indian colloquialisms, the subject is too large and general to deal with briefly. But it is curious to note that several of our most common adoptions are due to what might be most truly called the Oordoo or camp language, being among those which the hosts of Chinghiz brought from the

steppes of North-eastern Asia—e.g.: "The old *bukshet* is an awful *bahadur*, but he keeps a first-rate *bobachee*."* That is a sentence which might easily have been heard at an Anglo-Indian mess-table thirty years ago—perhaps might be heard still. Each of the three outlandish terms in it came from the depths of Mongolia in the thirteenth century.

Our own language has contributed words which have assumed local and special uses, or which have survived in India (some of them to the present time), after becoming obsolete in Europe; or it has formed new domestic compounds applicable to new objects. To one or other of these classes belong *outcry*, *buggy*, *home*, *interloper*, *rogue* (elephant), *tiffin*, *roundel* ("an umbrella," obsolete), *pish-pash*, *earth-oil*, *hog-deer*, *musk-rat*, *horse-keeper*, *paddy-bird*, *nor-wester*, *iron-wood*, *milk-bush*, *barking-deer*, *custard-apple*, *long-drawers*, &c., &c.

Other terms again are corruptions, more or less violent, of Oriental words and phrases, which have put on an English mask. Such are *mannil*, *fool's rack*, *bearer*, *boy*, *cot*, *belly-band*, *goddess* (in the Malay region, representing Malay *gāāis*, 'a maiden'), *Penang-lawyer*, *summer-head*,† *eagle-wood*, *St. John's* (in Guzerat, *Sanjān*, the first landing-place of the Parsees in the eighth century; in China, the island of *Shang-chuang* where St. Francis Xavier breathed his last), *jackass-copal*, *bobbery*, *Hobson-Jobson* (whereof more presently). Yet, again we have corruptions of English and hybrids accepted and adopted as Hindustani by the natives with whom we have to do, such as *simkin* (champagne!), *port-shraub*, *brandy-pawnee*, *tumlet* (a tumbler), *gilās* (drinking vessels of sorts), *lumberdār*, *jail-khāna*, *bottle-khāna*, *buggy-khāna*, "et omne quod exit in" *khāna*.

China has contributed a few words which have settled

* *I.e.*, "The old paymaster is an awful swaggerer, but he keeps a first-rate cook."

† This is from Portuguese. It stood in the Bombay ordinance nomenclature for a large umbrella—"sombreiro."

on the Indian shores, but most of them are, I think, names of fruits and the like, which have been introduced, such as *loquat*, *lee-chee*, *chow-chow*, &c. But a considerable proportion of words much used in Chinese ports, and often supposed to be of Chinese origin, such as *mandarin*, *junk*, *chop*, *pagoda*, and, as I believe, *typhoon* (though this is a word much disputed), are not Chinese at all, but words of Indian languages or Malay, which have been precipitated in Chinese waters during the flux and reflux of foreign trade.

It is curious how often, in trying to trace words that come within the field of our research, we come upon an absolute bifurcation—i.e., on two or more possible sources of almost equal probability, and in themselves entirely distinct. In such cases it may be that, though the use of the word *originated* from one of the sources, the existence of the other has contributed to its eventual popularity.

One example of this is *boy*, in its application to a servant. To this application have contributed both the old English use of *boy* for a slave (analogous to that of *puer* and *garçon*) or for a camp-servant, and the Hindce-Marathee *bhoi*, the name of a caste which has furnished palankin and umbrella-bearers to many generations of Europeans in India. The habitual use of the word by the Portuguese, for many years before any English influence had touched the shores of India (*bôy de sombreiro*, *bôy d'aguaa*, *bôy de palanquy*) shows that the first source was the Indian one.

Cooly, in its application to a carrier of burdens, or performer of inferior labour, is another example. The most probable origin of this is from a *nomen gentile*, that of the *Kolis*, a hill-people of Guzerat and the Western Ghats. But the matter is perplexed by other facts which it is difficult to connect with the preceding. Thus in South India there is a Tamil word *kālī*, in common use, signifying hire or wages, which H. H. Wilson regards as the true origin of *cooly*. Also, in both Oriental and Osmanli-Turkish,

kol is a word for a slave, whilst in the latter also *kaleh* means a male slave, a bondsman (Redhouse). *Khol* is in Tibetan also a word for a servant, or a slave.

Tank, for a reservoir of water, we are apt to derive, without hesitation, from *stagnum*, whence Spanish *estanc*, old French *estang*, and old English and Lowland Scotch *stank*, Portuguese *tanque*; till we find that the word is regarded by the Portuguese themselves as Indian, and that there is excellent testimony to its existence in Guzerat and Rajputana, as an indigenous word with a plausible Sanskrit origin.

Veranda has been derived by some etymologists (among others by M. Desfréméry, a distinguished scholar), confidently from the Persian *bar-âmada*, a balcony (literally, a projection): an etymology which a modern "comparative grammarian" treats with inappropriate derision, giving as the undoubted original a Sanskrit word *baranda*, a portico, Hindustani *varandā*. This word, it is observed by Mr. Burnell, does not belong to the older Sanskrit, but is only found in comparatively modern works. That the word *veranda*, as used in England and France, was imported from India need not be doubted; but it is still more certain that, either in the same sense, or in one closely analogous, the word existed, quite independent of either Sanskrit or Persian, in Portuguese and Spanish; and the manner in which it occurs in the very earliest narrative of the Portuguese adventure to India ("Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama"), and in the Hispano-Arabic vocabulary of Pedro de Alcalá (printed in 1505) precludes the possibility of its having been adopted by the Portuguese from intercourse with India.

Mangrove, John Crawfurd tells us, has been adopted from the Malay *manggi-manggi*, applied to trees of the genus *Rhizophora*. But we learn from Oviedo, writing early in the sixteenth century, that the name *mangle* was applied by the Indians of the Spanish Main to trees of the same, or kindred genus, on the coast of South America;

which same *mangle* is undoubtedly the parent of the French *manglier*, and possibly, therefore, of the English form *mangrove*. *Bearer*, *male*, *colwall*, and others partake more or less of this character of dual claim.

In giving some examples of the treatment of words in our glossary, we may begin with one in explanation of the alternative title *Hobson-Jobson*. A valued friend of ours many years ago published a book, of great acumen and considerable originality, which he called "Three Essays," with no author's name; and the result was such as might have been expected. It was said at the time by another friend, that if the book had been entitled *A Book by A Chap*, it would have had a much better chance of circulation. It seemed to me that *A Glossary or A Vocabulary* would be equally unattractive, and uninforming as to the nature of the work, and that it ought to have at least an alternative title a little more characteristic. *Hobson-Jobson*, though now rare and moribund, is a typical and delightful example of that class of Anglo-Indian terms which consists of Oriental words highly assimilated, perhaps by vulgar lips, to the English vernacular, and seemed especially fitted to our book, conveying as it does a veiled intimation of dual authorship. At any rate there it is, and at this time of day my feeling has come to be that such *is* the book's name, nor could it well have had any other. The following is the article under this head in the book itself:—

Hobson-Jobson, s. A native festal excitement; a *tamāsha* (see *tumasha*); but especially the Moharram ceremonies. This phrase may be taken as a typical one of the most highly assimilated class of Anglo-Indian argot, and we have ventured to borrow from it a concise alternative title for our Glossary. It is peculiar to the British soldier and his surroundings, with whom it probably originated, and with whom it is by no means obsolete, as we once supposed.* It is in fact an Anglo-Saxon version of the wailings of the Mahomedans as they beat their breasts in the processions of the *Moharram*—"Ya Hasan! Ya Hosain!"

It is to be remembered that these observances are *in India* by no means confined to Shī'as. Except at Lucknow and Murshidabad the great

* My friend Lieut. Col. John Trotter tells me he has repeatedly heard it used by British soldiers in the Punjab; and has heard it also from a regimental Moosbree.

majority of Mahomedans in that country are professed Sannis. Yet here is a statement of the facts from an unexceptionable authority :

'The commonality of the Mussulmans, and especially the women, have more regard for the memory of Hasan and Hosain, than for that of Mahammed and his Khalifa. The heresy of making Ta'ziya (see *Tazeen*) on the anniversary of the two latter Imams, is most common throughout India: so much so that opposition to it is ascribed by the ignorant to blasphemy. This example is followed by many of the Hindus, especially the Mahatras. The Muharram is celebrated throughout the Dekkan and Malwa with greater enthusiasm than in other parts of India. Grand preparations are made in every town on the occasion, as if for a festival of rejoicing, rather than of observing the rites of mourning, as they ought. The observance of this custom has so strong a hold on the mind of the commonality of the Mussulmans that they believe Mahommedanism to depend merely on keeping the memory of the Imams in the above manner.'—*Mr. Schellens Ait in J. R. As. Soc. XIII.* 309.

We find no literary quotation to exemplify the phrase as it stands. But these which follow show it in the process of evolution :

1615. ' . . . e particulamente delle donne che, intendent il petto e facendo grido di grandissima compassione replicano spesso con gran dolore quegli ultimi versi di certi loro cantici : *Vah Hussein ! osh Hussein !*'—*P. delle Valle*, l. 332.

c. 1630. 'None dayes they wander up and downe [singing all that while neither head nor heart, nor seeming joyfull] incessantly calling out *Hussan, Hussan!* in a melancholy note, so lowing, so fiercely, that many can neither heare longer, nor for a smooth space recover their voices.'—*Sir T. Herbert*, 261.

c. 1665. ' . . . ainsi j'en eut le loisir dont j'ay besoin pour y voir celebrer la Feste de Hussein Fils d'Ally . . . Les Mores de Goleconde le celebrent avec grande beaucoup plus de folies qu'en Perse . . . d'autres sont des dances en rond, tenant des epees ams la pointe en haute, qu'ils touchent les uns contre les autres, en criant de tout leur force *Hussein*.'—*Theroux*, v. 320.

1673. 'About this time the Moors solemnise the Execution of Hosseen Gossain, a time of ten dayes Mourning for two Unfortunate Champions of theirs.'—*Feyer*, p. 105.

'On the Days of their Feasts and Jubilee, Gladiators were approved and licensed; but feeling afterwards the Evils that attended that Liberty, which was chiefly used in their *Hossy Gossy*, any private Grudge being then openly revenged: it never was forbid, but it passed into an Edict by the following King, that it should be lawful to Kill any foeman with Naked Swords in that Solemnity.'—*Ibid.* 337.

1720. Under these prevailing circumstances the time came round for the Mussulman feast called *Hossein Jossen* . . . better known as the *Mohurram*.—*In Wheeler*, II. 347.

1725. 'In this month Mohurram they have a season of mourning for the two brothers Hasan and Hossein . . . They name this mourning-day in Arabic *Jahar*, or the 10 days; but the Hindustanis call a *Jacksom Backsom*.'—*Valerius Clavi*, 107.

1763. 'It was the 14th of November, and the festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers *Hassain* and *Jassain* happened to fall out at this time.'—*Comes*, l. 123.

1832. ' . . . they kindle fires in these pits every evening during the festival; and the ignorant, old as well as young, amuse themselves in fencing against them with sticks or swords; or only in running or playing round them, calling out, *Ya aller! Ya aller!* . . . *Shah Hussein! Shah Hussein!* . . . *Shah Hosain! Shah Hosain!* . . . *Dudha! Dudha!* (milk) . . . *Haar dar! Haar dar!* (also, friend! . . . *Rakham! Rakham!* (Stay! Stay!). Every two of these words are repeated probably a hundred times over as loud as they can bawl out.'—*Jaffur Sheriff, Quasim-e-Hind*, II. by Herbert, p. 173.

1883. ' . . . a long procession . . . followed and preceded by the voluinous rammers and brass-beaters shouting their cry of *Hau-e-e-i-n-Ha-sain, Hau-e-e-i-n-Ha-sain*, and a simultaneous blow is struck vigorously by hundreds of heavy fists on the bare breasts at the last syllable of each name.'—*Allen's Modern Persia*, 262.

As a sample of the treatment of geographical names we may take Bombay :

Bombay, n.p. It has been alleged often and positively—as in the quotations below from Fryer and Geose—that this name is an English corruption from the Portuguese *Bombáhia*, 'good bay.' The grammar of the alleged etymon is bad, and the history is no better; for the name can be traced long before the Portuguese occupation, long before the arrival of the Portuguese in India. C. 1430 we find the islands of Mahim and *Mumba-Devi*, which united form the existing island of Bombay, held along with Salsette, by a Hindu Rājā, who was tributary to the Mahomedan king of Guzerat (see *Rājā Mālā*, ii. 350). The same form reappears (1516) in Barbosa's '*Tana-Mayambū*' (p. 68), in the '*Estado da Índia*' under 1525, and (1565) in Garcia De Orta, who writes both *Mombaim* and *Bombaim*. The latter author, mentioning the excellence of the areca produced there, speaks of himself as having had a grant of the island from the King of Portugal (see below). It is customarily called *Bombaim* on the earliest English rupee-coinage (see under **Rupce**).

The shrine of the goddess *Mumba-Devi*, from which the name is supposed to have been taken, stood on the esplanade till the middle of last century, when it was removed to its present site, in the middle of what is now the most frequented part of the native town.

We shall see from a quotation below that, though the Portuguese never called the island *Bombáhia* (or *Bā Bahā* either), it at one time got the name of *Bā Vida*, from its pleasantness and abundance.

1577. 'Sultan Mahomedal Bigorah of Guzerat, having carried an army against Chaural in the year of the Hejra 913, in order to destroy the Europeans, he effected his designs against the towns of Basal (*Bassein*, q.v.) and Manbal, and returned to his own capital.'—*Minut-i-Akmal* (Blair's Trans.), 214, 215.

1508. 'The Viceroy quitted Dabul, passing by Chaul, where he did not care to go in, to avoid delay, and anchored at Bombaim, whence the people fled when they saw the fleet, and our men carried off many cows, and caught some blacks whom they found killing in the woods, and of these they took away those that were good, and killed the rest.'—*Cervus*, i. 926.

1516. '... a fortress of the before-named King (of Guzerat) called Tana Mayambū, and near it is a Moorish town, very pleasant, and with many gardens... a town of very great Moorish mosques and temples of worship of the Gentiles... It is likewise a serpent, but of little trade.'—*Barbosa*, 69.

The name here appears to combine, in a common Oriental fashion, the names of the adjoining town of Thana (q.v.) and of Bombay.

1525. 'E a Ilha de Mombayn, que no foyal yelho estava em catorze mil e quatro cento fedras'...

'E os seus ocos estava arredada por mil trezentos setenta e cinque pardaos'...

'Foy alorada a Mestre Diogo pelo dito governador, por mil quatro cento trinta e seis pardaos mais.'—*Tombo do Estado da Índia*, 160, 161.

1525. 'And the Island of Mombayn, which in the old rental stood in 14,400 *judias*...

'And in other years stood rented for 1,375 *pardaos*...

'has been granted to Mestre Diogo by the said governor for 1,432 *pardaos*'...

1538. The Isle of Bombay has on the south the waters of the bay which is called after it, and the island of Chaul; on the north the island of Salsete; on the east Salsete also; and on the west the Indian Ocean. The land of this island is very low, and covered with great and beautiful groves of trees. There is much game and abundance of meat and rice, and there is no memory of any scarcity. Nowadays it is called the

Island of **Ba-Vida**, a name given to it by Hector da Silveira, because when his fleet was cruising on this coast his soldiers had great refreshment and enjoyment there.—*J. de Castro, Primæ Historiæ*, p. 81.

1563. "... and better still is that (the area) of **Bombaim**, an estate and island which the King our Lord has graciously granted me on perpetual lease."—*Garcia de Orta*, l. 91, v.

'SERVANT.—Sir, here is Simon Tiscano, your tenant at **Bombaim**, who has brought this basket of mangoes for you to make a present to the Governor; and he says that when he has moored his vessel, he will come here to put up.'—*Ibid.*, l. 134, v.

1644. '*Description of the Port of Mombaym*.—The Viceroy Conde de Linhares sent the 3 councillors to fortify this Bay, so that no European enemy should be able to enter. These Ministers visited the place, and were of opinion that the width (of the entrance) being so great, becoming even wider and more unobstructed further in, there was no place that you could fortify so as to defend the entrance.'—*Bureau MS. (copy in India Office)*, l. 227.

1673. '**Bombaim** . . . ventures furthest out into the sea, making the Mouth of of a spacious Bay, from whence it has its etymology—*Bombaim*, quasi *Beet Bay*.'—*Fryer*, p. 82.

1677. 'Quod dicta Insula de **Bombaym**, una cum dependentiâ suis, nobis ab origiue bonâ fide ex pacto (sicut oportuit) tradita non fuerit.'—*King Charles II.* to the Viceroy *L. de Almeida Fortade*, in *Description, &c., of the Port and Island of Bombay*, 1744, p. 77.

1692. 'This Island has its Denomination from the Harbour, which . . . was originally called *Bom Bay*, i.e., in the Portuguese Language, Good Bay or Harbour.'—*Orlando*, 129.

1711. 'Lockyer declares it to be impossible, with all the Company's Strength and Art, to make **Bomlay** "a Mart of Great Business."—*An Account of the Trade in India* p. 85.

c. 1760. '... One of the most commodious bays, perhaps, in the world, from which distinction it received the denomination of **Bombay**, by corruption from the Portuguese *Bomna Bahia*, though now usually written by them *Bombaim*.'—*Green*, revised edition, 1772, l. 29.

1770. 'No man chose to settle in a country so unhealthy as to give rise to the proverb, That at **Bombay** a man's life did not exceed two summers.'—*Asiatic Research* (E.T. 1777) i. 389.

I add some minor relevant articles:—

Ducks, s. The slang distinctive name for gentlemen belonging to the **Bombay** service; the correlative of the **Mulls** of Madras and the **Qui-His** of Bengal. It seems to have been taken from the term next following (viz., **Ducks, Bombay**).

Bombay Duck. See **Bummelo**.

Bummelo, s. A small fish abounding on all the coasts of India and the Archipelago; *Harpodon nehereus* of Buchanan Hamilton; the specific name being taken from the Bengal name *neharé*. The fish is a great delicacy when fresh caught and fried. When dried it becomes the famous **Bombay Duck**, which is now imported into England.

The origin of either name is obscure. Molesworth gives the first as *Mahatti*, with the spelling *Bambal*, or *Bumbilia*. *Bummelo* occurs in the Supplement to Blithen's Dictionary (1777) in the Portuguese form *bambulim*, as "the name of a very voracious fish in India." The same word, *bambulim*, is also explained to mean, *sumas proprio me raja a moda*—"certain plants in the fashionable suit," but we know not if there is any connection between the two. The form, *Bombay Duck*, has an analogy in *fishy chads*, which are sold in the London shops, also a kind of dried fish—pilewards, we believe—and this name may have originated in imitation of this, or of some similar English term.

1823. 'Up the Bay a Mile lies **Maugung**, a great Fishery-town, peculiarly possible for a Fish called **Bumbelow**, the sustenance of the poorer sort.'—*Fryer*, 67.

1785. 'My friend, General Campbell, Governor of Madras, tells me that they make spellings in the East Indies, particularly at Bombay, where they call them *Bambalors*.'—Note by *Bennett*, in his *Tour to the Hebrides*, under August 18, 1773.

1810. 'The *bumbelo* is like a large sand-eel; it is dried in the sun, and is usually eaten at breakfast with *Kedgerree*.'—*Maria Graham*, 25.

1813. Forbes has *bumbalo*.—*Oriental Memoirs*, i. 53.

1877. '*Bambalaw*, or *Babil*, the dried fish still called *Bombay Duck*.'—*Burton*, *Sind Revisited*, i. 68.

1880. 'Then came Sirs Jhona by Waye of Baddagh and Hormuz, to ye Costes of Ynde. . . . And after what Place ye Knighte came to Loude, therris ye folke clepen *Durys* (*gnari*, *DUCESS INDIAE*). . . .'—Extract from a MS. of *The Travels of Sir John Maundevill in the Ea Indies*, lately discovered (Calcutta, 1860).

Of terms which we have acquired by inheritance from the Portuguese, we may take *The Moors* (a separate article from *Moor*, *Moorman*, which is rather too long for extraction):—

Moors, The. s.—The Hindustani language was in the last century commonly thus styled. The idiom is a curious old English one for the denomination of a language, of which "broad Scots" is perhaps a type,* and which we find exemplified in '*Malabars*' for Tamil, whilst we have also met with *Bengals* for Bengallee, with *Indostans* for Urdu, and with *Turks* for Turkish. The term *Moors* is probably now entirely obsolete, but down to 1830, at least, some old officers of the Royal army and some old Madras civilians would occasionally use the term as synonymous with what the former would also call 'the black language.'

The following is a transcript of the title-page of Hadley's Grammar, the earliest English Grammar of Hindustani:—

'Grammatical Remarks | on the | Practical and Vulgar Dialect | of the Indostan Language | Commonly called Moors | with a Vocabulary | English and Moors | The Spelling according to | The Persian Orthography | Wherein are | References between Words resembling each other in | Sound and different in Significations | with Literal Translations and Explanations of the Compound Words and Circumlocutory Expressions | For the more easy attaining the Idiom of the Language | The whole calculated for | The Common Practice in Bengal. | "Si quid novisti rectius istis—Candidas imperti; si non his utere mecum." | By Capt. GEORGE HADLEY | London: | Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand | MDCCCLXXII.

Captain Hadley's orthography is on a detestable system. . . . The grammar is altogether of a very primitive and tentative character, and far behind that of the R.C. missionaries, dated 1778, which is referred to s.v. *Hindustani*. We have not even that of Schulz (1745) mentioned under the same.†

* It was, however, perhaps an adoption from the Dutch, who use a form almost identical.

† The titles of these are respectively: "*Beniamini Scholæi, Missionarii Evangelii; Grammatica Hindostanica* . . . Edidit, et de inscripendis barbaricorum linguarum cultura prefatus est D. Jo. Henr. Callenberg, Hæc Suecia, 1745;" and "*Grammatica Hindostana, A lingua Vulgaris Quæ se præcipue in Imperio de gran Mogol Offendit, Auspiciis Reverendi Patris Missionarii De dicto Imperio, En Roma MDCCXLVIII. Na Estamparia da Sagrada Congregação da Propaganda Fide*." The latter is transcribed from the copy in the Bibl. Moscovy the former from the title-catalogue of the Bibl. M. Geney de Tany's library.

1752. 'The Centinel was sitting at the top of the gate, singing a Moorish song.'
—*Drum*, l. 272.

1767. 'In order to transact Business of any kind in this Country, you must at least have a smattering of the Language, for few of the Inhabitants (except in great Towns) speak English. The original Language of this Country (or at least the earliest we know of) is the Bengala, or Gento, . . . But the politest Language is the Moors, or Mussulmans and Persian. . . . The only language that I know anything of is the Bengala, and that I do not speak perfectly, for you may remember that I had a very poor knack at learning languages.'—*MS. Letter of James Rennell*, March '10.

1783. 'Moors, by not being written, bears all close application.'—*Letter in Life of Colclough*, 13.

1784.

'Wild perinquets first alliance broke,
Eager of dangers near to peere;
But they in English never spoke,
And she began her Moors of late.'

Plucky Plain, a Ballad by Sir William Jones (*Works*, ii. 504).

1788. 'Wants Employment.—A young man, who has been some years in Bengal, used to common accounts, understands *Bewpallia*, *Moors*, Portuguese.'—*In Selim-Kurr* (Selectimus), l. 286.

1789. 'C. What language did Mr. Francis speak? W. (*Myerna Kinnugger*). The same as I do, in broken Moors.'—*Trial of Grand v. Philip Francis*, quoted in *Lectures of Old Calcutta*, 226.

1823. 'Conceive what society there will be when people speak what they don't think in Moors.'—*M. Elphinstone in Life*, l. 108.

1824. 'She had a Moorish woman interpreter, and as I heard her give orders to her interpreter in the Moorish language . . . I must consider the conversation of the first authority.'—*Wellington* (Despatches), iii. 290.

'*The Stranger's Guide to the Hindoostanic or General Popular Language of India, improperly called Moorish*. By J. Barthwick Gilchrist. Calcutta, 1824.'

As an example of a native expression which has come to us more or less through a Portuguese channel, let us take that familiar word *Batta*. I have had more precise light upon this, before printing the supplemental part of the Glossary, and I shall here embody this latest result of research:—

Batta, s. Two different words are thus expressed in Anglo-Indian colloquial, and in a manner confounded. a. Hind. *Bhatta* or *bhatta*. An extra allowance made to officers, soldiers, or other public servants, when in the field, or on other special grounds; also subsistence money to witnesses, prisoners, and the like. Military **Batta**, originally an occasional allowance, as defined, grew to be a constant addition to the pay of officers in India, and constituted the chief part of the excess of Indian over English military emoluments. The question of the right to *batta* on several occasions created great agitation among the officers of the Indian army, and the measure of economy carried out by Lord William Bentinck, when Governor-General (G.O. of the Gov.-Gen. in Council, November 29, 1828), in the reduction of full *batta* to half *batta*, in the allowances received by all regimental officers serving at stations within a certain distance of the Presidency in Bengal (viz., Barrackpore, Dumdum, Behanpore, and Dinapore) caused an enduring bitterness against that upright ruler.

I omit, for brevity, references to the Hindee etymologies of the term that have been suggested.

The earliest quotation suggests the possibility that the word, in its sense of extra pay, has come down to us by oral tradition from the Portuguese, and that it may have originated in the Canarese word for 'rice,' and was at first an allowance to native servants to provide their staple food.

Further reading has entirely confirmed as the true origin of the Anglo-Indian *batta*, the suggestion that the word (I may add, the thing) originated in Portuguese practice, and in the use of the Canarese word *bhatta*, Maht. *bhāt*, 'rice in the husk,' called by the Portuguese *bate* and *batta*, for a maintenance allowance.

The word *batty*, for what is more generally called *paddy*, is, or was, commonly used by the English in South and West India. . . .

The practice of giving a special allowance for *mantimento* began from a very early date in the Indian history of the Portuguese, and it evidently became a recognised augmentation of pay; corresponding closely to our *batta*, whilst the quotation from Botelho . . . shows also that *bate* and *mantimento* were used, more or less interchangeably, for this allowance. The correspondence with our Anglo-Indian *batta* went very far. The discontent raised in the Indian army by the reduction of full *batta* to half-*batta*, under Lord William Bentinck's government, has been alluded to above, and a case singularly parallel is spoken of by Correa (iv. 256). The *mantimento* had been paid all the year round, but the Governor Martin Afonso de Sousa, in 1542, 'desiring,' says the historian, 'a way to curry favour for himself, whilst going against the people and sending his own soul to hell,' ordered that in future the *mantimento* should be paid only during the six months of winter (i.e., of the rainy season), when the force was on shore, and not for the other six months, when they were on board the cruisers and received rations. This created great bitterness, perfectly analogous in depth and expression to that entertained with regard to Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Malcolm, in 1829. Correa's utterance, just quoted, illustrates this, and a little lower down he adds, 'And thus he took away from the troops the half of their *mantimento* (half their *batts*, in fact), 'and whether he did well or ill in that, he'll find out in the next world' (see also *id.* p. 430).

I omit some quotations, exhibiting, from 1502, the Portuguese practice of giving *mantimento*.

1518. 'And for two *farraes* (see *farash*), two palkies a month for the two, and four wages for *bata*.—S. Botelho, *Tombé*, 235. The editor thinks this is for *bate*, i.e., *paddy*. But even if so, it is used exactly like *batta*, or maintenance money. A following entry has:—

'To the constable 38,920 *reis* a year, in which is comprised *mantimento*.'

The following quotation shows *batter* (or *batts*) used at Madras in a way that also indicates the original identity of *batty*, 'rice,' and *batta*, 'extra allowance':—

1680. 'The Poons and *Tarryars* (Watchmen, see *Tallivar*) sent in quest of two soldiers who had deserted from the garrison, returned with answer that they could not find them, whereupon the Poons were turned out of service, but upon Verana's intercession were taken in again, and fined each one month's pay, and to repay the money paid to them for *Battes*.'—*Fort St. George Consultation*, February 10. In *Notes and Extracts*, No. iii, p. 3.

1707. 'That they would allow *Batta*, or subsistence money, to all that should desert us.'—*Madras Records in Warter*, li. 63.

1762. 'Orders were accordingly issued . . . that on January 1, 1766, the double *batta* should cease.'—*Carnarvon's Life of Clive*, iv. 160.

1792. 'He would rather live on half-pay in a garrison that could boast of a five-coat, than vegetate on full *batta* where there was none.'—*Life of Sir T. Munro*, i. 227.

1829. 'To the Editor of *The Bengal Bazar*.—Sir,—Is it understood that the wives and daughters of Officers on half *batta* are included in the order to mourn for the Queen of Wirtensberg; or will half-mourning be considered sufficient for them?'—*Letter in above*, dated April 15, 1829.

1839. 'They have made me a S.C.B. I may confess to you that I would much rather have got a year's *batta*, because the latter would enable me to leave this country a year sooner.'—*Sir Hope Grant, in Incidents of the Sepoy War*.

b. Hind. *Batta* and *Bāṭā*. Agio or difference in exchange, discount on coins not current, or of short weight.

We may notice that Sir H. Elliot does not recognise an absolute separation between the two senses of *batta*. His definition runs thus: 'Difference of exchange; anything extra; an extra allowance; discount on incurrent or shortweight coins. . . . The word has been supposed to be a corruption of *Bharta*, increase, but it is a pure Hindi vocable, and is more usually applied to discount than premium.'—*Suppl. Gloss.* li. 41.

We see here that Elliot tries to bring the two senses together, but we should say with obvious unsucess, and if we are correct in tracing military *batta* to a word for "rice," or maintenance, the identity seems impossible. The following are instances of *batta* in the sense of agio or discount:—

1554. 'And gold, if of 10 *mata*s,* or 24 *crans*, is worth 10 *crans* less the tax; if of 9 *mata*s, 9 *crans*; and according to whate'er the *mata*s may be it is valued; but, moreover, it has its *batao*, i.e., its shroffage (*vari apages*) or agio (*pride*) varying with the season.'—*A. Namas*.

1680. 'The payment or receipt of *Batta* or *Vatum* upon the exchange of Pollicen for Madras pagodas, prohibited, both coins being of one and the same *Matt* and weight, upon pain of forfeiture of 24 pagodas for every offence, together with the loss of the *Batta*.'—*Fort St. George Consultation in Notes and Extracts*, No. iii, p. 3.

1740. 'The Nalob receives his revenues in the *siccas* of the current year only . . . and all *siccas* of a former date being esteemed like the coin of foreign provinces, only merchandise, are bought and sold at a certain discount called *batta*, which rises and falls like the prices of other goods in the market.'—*Fort William Consultation*, June 30, in *Lang*, 216.

The following article may throw light on a term which

* *Matt*, a. Touch (of gold). Tamil, *matra* (from *matra*), perhaps from Sansk. *matra*, 'measure.'—*Glossary*.

must have puzzled many readers besides ourselves, and which, so far as I know, has never before received a rational explanation :—

Cornac, *s.* This word is used, by French writers especially, as an Indian word, and as the equivalent of mahout (q.v.), or driver of the elephant. Littré defines : '*Nom qu'on donne, dans les Indes, au conducteur d'un éléphant*,' &c., &c., adding : '*Étym. Sanskrit, Karnikā, éléphant*.' 'Dans les Indes' is happily vague, and the etymology is worthless. Bluteau gives Cornaca, but no etymology. In Singhalese *Kūrawa* = 'elephant stud' (it is not in the Singhalese Dictionary, but is in the official *Glossary of Terms*, &c.), and our friend Dr. Roet suggests *Kūrawa-nāyaka* ('Chief of the *Kūrawa*') as a probable origin. This is confirmed by the form *cournakea* in Valentijn (Great Hist. of the Dutch East Indies), and by another title which he gives as used for the head of the elephant stable at Madura, viz., *Gaḡi-nāike*, . . . : i.e., *Gaḡi-nāyaka*, from *gaḡa*, 'an elephant.'

I omit the illustrative quotations. "Once more, we hope to have thrown some light on a word which sorely puzzles many a *griff*, and only from use and wont ceases to puzzle the older Anglo-Indians :—

Doai! Dweye! Interj. Properly Hind. *dohāi* or *dihāi*, Guzeratī *dihāi*, an exclamation (hitherto of obscure etymology) shouted aloud by a petitioner for redress at a court of justice, or as anyone passes who is supposed to have it in his power to aid in rendering the justice sought. It has a kind of analogy, as Thorenot pointed out 100 years ago, to the old Norman *Haro!* *Haro! viens à mon aide, mon Prince!** but does not now carry the privilege of the Norman cry; though one may conjecture, both from Indian analogies and from the statement of Ibn Batuta quoted below, that it once did.

Every Englishman in Upper India has often been saluted by the calls of '*Dohāi Khudāwand kī, Dohāi Mahārāj, Dohāi Kompanī Bahādur!*' 'Justice, my Lord! Justice, O King! Justice, O Company!'—perhaps in consequence of some oppression by his followers, perhaps in reference to some grievance with which he has no power to interfere.

Wilson derives the explanation from *do*, 'two' or repeatedly, and *hāi*, 'alas,' illustrating this by the phrase '*dohāi tihāi karmā*,' 'to make exclamation (or invocation of justice) twice and thrice.' This phrase, however, we take to be merely an example of the 'striving after meaning,' usual in cases where the real origin of a phrase is forgotten. We cannot doubt that the word is really a form of the Sansk. *drohā*, 'injury, wrong.' And this is confirmed by the form in Ibn Batuta, and the Mahr. *darāhī* : 'an exclamation or expression used in prohibiting in the name of the Raja . . . implying an imprecation of his vengeance in case of

* "It will be seen that the Indian cry also appeals to the Prince expressly. It was the good fortune of one of the present writers (A. B.) to have witnessed the call '*Haro!*' brought into serious operation at Jersey."

disobedience' (*Molertworth's Dict.*); also Tel. and Canar, *darai*, protest, prohibition, caveat, or veto in arrest of proceedings (*Wilson and C. P. B., M.S.*).

c. 1340. 'It is a custom in India that when money is due from any person who is favoured by the Sultan, and the creditor wants his debt settled, he lies in wait at the Palace gate for the debtor, and when the latter is about to enter he assaults him with the exclamation, *Darohai us-Sultan!* "O Enemy of the Sultan." Lament by the head of the King thou shalt not enter till thou hast paid me what thou owest. The debtor cannot then stir from the spot, until he has satisfied the creditor, or has obtained his consent to the respite.'—*The Baitara*, iii. 412.

The signification assigned to the words by the Moorish traveller probably only shows that the real meaning was unknown to his Mussulman friends at Delhi, whilst its form strongly corroborates our etymology, and shows that it still kept close to the Sanskrit.

1603. 'He is severe enough, but all helpeth not; for his poore Kints or clownes complaine of Injustice done them, and cry for justice at the King's hands.'—*Hemkins*, in *Purchas*, i. 223.

c. 1666. 'Quand on y-vent arrêter une personne, on crië seulement *Doa padada*; cette clameur a tant de force que celle de hano en Normandie; et si on defend à quelqu'un de sortir du lieu où il est, en disant *Doa padada*, il ne peut partir sans se rendre criminel, et il est obligé de se présenter à la justice.'—*Theroux*, v. 61.

1834. 'The servant woman began to make a great outcry, and wanted to leave the ship and cried *Dohai* to the Company; for she was murdered and kidnapped.'—*The Baitara*, ii. 232.

"I can safely assert that until 1860 no one dared to ignore the *Dohai* to a Native Prince, when called within his territories. I have heard a serious complaint made against a person 'that he called the *Dohai* needlessly, for insufficient cause.' The custom is by no means extinct in the more backward parts of India."—(*Note by Major-General R. H. Keatinge, P.C.*)

If we do not stop now, the gentlest reader will cry
 "*Dohai Padiyāh!* à mon aide, mon Prince!"

H. YULE.

CHINA AND BURMAH.

To all who have watched the course of recent events in Burmah it has been a matter of surprise that King Thebaw so long avoided the fate which has at last overtaken him. Partly, no doubt, his escape was due to the policy which Lord Ripon pursued of avoiding all serious disagreements with him, though the probability is that the wide latitude thus allowed him only allured him on to the fatal step which has aroused the just resentment of a viceroy less yielding and easy going. Nothing can be less satisfactory than the relations between India and Burmah have been since the accession of Hpagyldoa in 1819. A succession of kings, in whom the taint of insanity has been more or less pronounced, have occupied the throne, and, while oppressing their subjects with a tyranny unheard of in civilised states, they have pursued towards our Indian dependency a policy of consistent insult and aggression. It cannot be to the interest of anyone concerned that such a state of things should be allowed any longer to exist. Fortunately the conduct of the present negotiations is in the hands of a viceroy whose firmness, courage and ability are unquestioned, and who may be trusted to place our relations with Burmah once and for all on a sure and satisfactory basis. As was recently remarked by a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, "It is a geographical necessity that the rulers of India should have a preponderating influence in Burmah." So long as the kings could be induced to act up to the terms of their treaties and to live in peace with their neighbours, no one would desire that this influence should be exercised in any other way than diplomatically. But the action of Thebaw has

rendered it impossible to expect that he would bend his will to our admonitions. He has of late exhibited a persistent hostility which has made itself felt in wrongs and insults inflicted on British subjects, and finally, in a proposed alliance with a European power whose policy in the East has been directed in the interests of a ceaseless rivalry with our empire in India. It is impossible that such outrages on the fellowship of nations should be allowed to continue. The reign of Thebaw must cease: and it remains to be determined whether the upper provinces shall be annexed, or whether the enthronement of another native prince, with a British resident at Ava, would hold out a sufficient prospect of peace and security to justify the adoption of the alternative.

In considering this question it should be borne in mind that there are other nations almost as deeply interested in the decision to be arrived at as ourselves. Thebaw has by no means confined his wrong-doing to British subjects. Every nation which touches his frontiers, or has relations with his country, has great and grievous causes of complaint against him. China, Siam, and the Shan States, have all suffered violence at his hands, and are all watching with intense interest the final issue of a quarrel which has already resulted in the removal of the sanguinary sovereign who provoked the conflict. By a long course of oppression Thebaw alienated the tributary Shans from him, and drove them into open revolt against his rule; by a series of wanton acts of injustice he has converted the friendly alliance, which formerly existed between the courts of Bangkok and Mandalay into a feeling of bitter hostility; and, by a persistent disregard of the amity of nations, he has drawn down upon him the wrathful displeasure of his suzerain, the Emperor of China. Even if such relations as are implied by the term tributary did not exist between Thebaw and the Son of Heaven, it would be impossible for the latter to submit to the disturbances begotten by Burmese misrule which are now chronic on the

Burmo-Chinese frontier. Brigandage finds a congenial home on the outskirts of Thebaw's authority, and neither the lives nor the goods of merchants are for a moment safe between Bhamo and the Chinese frontier.

Until lately, the political condition of Yun-nan, the Chinese province adjoining Burmah, has not been such as to make the Chinese careful of its welfare. During its occupation by the Mohammedan rebels, it mattered nothing to the court of Peking whether its traders suffered violence at the hands of the subjects of the then king of Burmah or not. And it was not until the recovery of the province, in 1874, that it became necessary for the Emperor to take cognisance of the outlawry which flourished under the so-called government of his tributary. One of the first acts of the Viceroy of Yun-nan after the pacification of the province, was to send a letter to the king of Burmah announcing the fact, and requesting him to assist in re-establishing the trade between the two countries. In response to this epistle, the king despatched an embassy to Peking, carrying tribute, but so disturbed was the borderland that the ambassador was detained in the hills for more than a month by the hillmen, who had barricaded the road for the purpose of extorting black mail. However, he eventually arrived in China, and was able to lay before the Emperor the following letter:—

"KING'S LETTER.

"Meng-tun, King of Burmah, respectfully lays a petition before the Throne of the great Emperor of the Heavenly Dynasty:—

"Your vassal (here Ch'en, the same character as that employed by ministers of the Chinese Government to designate themselves in their memorials, is used, with the addition of *shu*—small—before it) would, with all humility, set forth that under the universal sway of his Holiness the 'streams and hills' are all objects of his fostering care, the kingdoms of the distant ocean become converted to his civilising rule, and as the sunflower bows before the sun, so does all mankind turn with adoration towards the Imperial person. Succeeding to your barren and far-off dependency of Burmah, your vassal is impressed with the deep favours conferred by your Heavenly Dynasty when permitting his country to be enrolled amongst the territory of Yu (the founder of the Hia Dynasty), and, in offering up according to rule the tribute prescribed, the land of Burmah is thus included under the heaven of Yau—and all within the realm join with one voice in the Sung—cry—to His Imperial Majesty,

(Note—Sung is a mountain where an echo, supposed to proceed from the spirits of the hill, was audible, crying out 'happiness! long life! male issue!!') Recently, owing to war and rapine on the borders, communication has long been intercepted; but the horrors of strife are now happily ended, and the universe returned to tranquillity. It is fitting, therefore, that your humble vassal should at once offer tribute. This letter has, consequently, been respectfully drawn up in letters of gold, and is accompanied by an image of the God of Longevity, five tame elephants, and with articles of manufacture and productions of the country. These are sent under the care of an envoy (named as above), as representative of your vassal; who is charged to respectfully convey them to the palace gate, and to humbly crave that his great Majesty, the Emperor, will deign to receive the offerings and will further graciously lend ear to the feelings of obedience, respect and submission entertained by your vassal. While writing this letter your vassal is overcome with pleasurable feelings of extreme gratitude, and in concluding his petition he humbly wishes his great Imperial Majesty long life for ten thousand, thousand years.

LIST OF PRESENTS.

One letter in gold.	Ten pieces foreign crape.
A Burmese stone image of the God of Longevity.	Ten fine handkerchiefs.
Five tame elephants.	Twenty foreign carpet rugs.
A pair of Ivory tusks, weighing 90 catties.	Ten thousand sheets of gold leaf.
Three jade stone articles, weighing 210 catties.	Ten thousand sheets of silver leaf.
Eight gilt framed and inlaid mirrors.	Eight cattles of sandalwood.
Two red jewel gold rings.	Nine catties of red sandalwood.
Two gold rings set with 'Ya-tsing.'	Ten bottles scent.
Eight pieces of yellow, red and green Spanish stripes.	Ten bottles pomade.
Ten pieces of thick heavy shittings.	Four No. 4 size ornamented boxes.
	Fifty No. 5 size ornamented boxes.
	Five pictures of elephants.
	Fifteen peacock's tails."

Translation of *The Peking Gazette*, for 1875.

The relations of suzerain and tributary, so freely acknowledged in this document by Thebaw's predecessor, have not been recently entered upon, but date back to the reign of Kublai Khan, when the Mongol legions, having conquered Yun-nan, carried their victorious arms into Burmah. Nothing seems to have resulted from this expedition except a vague claim on the part of the Mongols to consider the Burmese king as a vassal. Desiring to affirm this assumption, they, in 1278, sent ambassadors to the court of Burmah to demand gold and silver vessels as tribute, basing their demand, as unjust demands are not uncommonly based, on precedent. Burmese historians

assert that the conduct of these ambassadors was insolent, and, when the truculent behaviour of some of the Mongol emissaries to western Asian states is remembered, there seems to be nothing improbable in the assertion. On the other hand, the charge of insolence is easily made, and, when the lives of the accused have been forfeited, there remains no one to contradict it. It was this offence which cost the Tai-ping Wangs their heads at the hands of Li Hung Chang, when they had surrendered the city of Suchow to Gordon on condition that their lives were spared. Their judge was their accuser and executioner, and such was also the case with the Mongol ambassadors. But, though wild and savage, the Mongols had that keen sense of insult which belongs to warlike peoples, and, on receiving the news of the execution of his envoys, Kublai Khan at once marshalled a punitive expedition against the offenders. According to Marco Polo, when the king heard "that the host of the Great Kaan was at Vochan (*i.e.*, Yung-chang), he said to himself that it behoved him to go against them with so great a force as should ensure his cutting off the whole of them, insomuch that the Great Kaan would be very sorry ever to send an army again thither." To this end he put into the field a force consisting of 60,000 men, horse and foot, besides 2,000 elephants, each of which carried "from twelve to sixteen well-armed fighting men." To confront this host, the Mongol general, Nāsruddīn, had but 12,000 horsemen. As the "horses of the Tartars took such fright at the sight of the elephants that they could not be got to face the foe," Nāsruddīn ordered the men to dismount and to depend on their bows for victory. The result justified his tactics, for the Burmese host were smitten hip and thigh, and utterly defeated. Two hundred elephants and countless prisoners fell into the hands of the victors.

The Burmese records make no mention of this battle related by Marco Polo, and seem rather to imply that the outrage committed on the ambassadors, as mentioned above, was some years later, and was the cause of a second

expedition against Burmah in 1281. However this may be, it is certain that there was a second war at the date referred to, when the Mongols, after several engagements, drove the Burmese army in disorder towards the capital, Pagan. At first the king was disposed to defend this city, and destroyed 6,000 temples to supply material for the fortifications; but, losing heart, he embarked on the Irawaddi, and fled with his court and treasures to Bassein in the Delta. The Mongols followed hard after him, as far as Tarukmoa (Chinese point), thirty miles below Prome, where they were obliged, owing to the failure of provisions, to give up the pursuit. On their return journey, they indulged in the congenial sport of plundering the capital, and extorted from the Burmese Government an acknowledgment of vassalage. The king, who is known in history as Taruk pye-meng, or "the king who fled from the Taruk" (Chinese), returned to his capital after the retreat of the Chinese, but only to find a cup of poison waiting for him by order of his son, Thihather, who had constituted himself governor. If, by this act, Thihather thought to secure to himself the succession, he was disappointed, for another prince, Kyoaswa by name, was, by some unexplained intrigue, preferred before him. Kyoaswa, however, never wielded any real power, and, after a few months of sovereignty, he was deposed by one of his father's many widows and confined in a monastery, the lady herself taking possession of the regal office.

Having been thus deprived of his rights, the deposed Kyoaswa appealed for help to the Emperor of China, who at once despatched an army to reinstate him on the throne. At this time three Shan chieftains, sons of one man, had risen to positions of power and importance in the country, and on the approach of the Chinese force they agreed to murder the king, and to persuade the Chinese general to accept the accomplished fact as a settlement of the dispute between the two countries. The scheme answered admirably, and by liberally gilding their arguments they

induced the invader to withdraw from the country. The three Shan brothers were now left supreme; but, on the death of the second brother a dispute broke out between the remaining two, which ended by the eldest being put out of the way by poison. Like the youngest of the three brethren in a fairy tale, the third brother was now proclaimed king; but the dynasty he thus established by violence was destined to be upset by the same means, and at the end of sixty-six years the succession returned to a native line.

From this time onwards, the wars between the Burmans and the Shans form a prominent feature in the history of the country, and it was in connection with one of these frequent conflicts that, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Chinese were again called upon to intervene. Two Shan chiefs had attacked Myédu, and, having been defeated by the king, took refuge in Chinese territory. In accordance with the common oriental practice, the conqueror imprisoned the wives and children of the fugitives; and it was to restore these unfortunates to freedom that the Chinese, who had espoused the cause of the Shan chieftains marched an army as far as Ava. The demand for the release of the prisoners was, it is said, met by the Burmese with a suggestion that the question should be left to the arbitrament of a single combat between a champion from either side. This was agreed to, and the Chinese knight, notwithstanding that he was clad in armour, bit the dust at his opponent's feet. Faithfully accepting this award the Chinese withdrew from the country.

With this exception, during the whole of the Ming Dynasty (1368—1644), the Chinese showed no disposition to interfere in the affairs of Burmah; but, on the advent of the present dynasty to power, circumstances arose which again brought the two countries into conflict. The last Emperor of the Chinese Ming Dynasty committed suicide in 1643, leaving to the Prince Kwei Wang the duty of continuing the struggle against the invading Manchus. For a time this prince maintained an unequal war against his

enemies, but was eventually compelled to take refuge in Yun-nan. There he kept up a semblance of imperial state, and even ventured to demand revenue from the Shan States to the west of the Salwin river. This usurpation was promptly resented by the Burmese to whom before long Kwei Wang was compelled to become a suppliant. Having conquered the rest of China, the Manchus entered Yun-nan, and Kwei Wang, being powerless against them, fled to Momein, and from thence sent messengers to Bhamo asking for an asylum from his enemies. This was granted to him, and he was even allowed to bring a large following in his train. Shortly afterwards, according to Burmese history, marauding bands of Chinese invaded the country from Yun-nan, and met with so little opposition from the royal forces that the people broke out into revolt against the king, to whose supineness they considered it due that they were left to the mercy of the depredators. The rebels were headed by the king's brother, who captured the palace, with its inmates, and caused the king and his family to be drowned in the Hkyengdweng river. Having thus acquired a valid oriental title to the throne, the new king drove out the Chinese, and proceeded to take summary measures to keep Kwei Wang, whose loyalty he suspected, out of mischief. With this intent he invited him and his followers to an assembly, where, suspecting treachery, Kwei Wang and his officers suddenly drew their swords and attacked the Burmese. In this encounter all the Chinese, with the exception of Kwei Wang and some few members of his family, were killed. But, with amazing tolerance, these survivors were allowed to remain at large, and might possibly have lived out the rest of their natural lives amongst the Burmese, whose hospitality they had outraged, had not a Manchu army invaded the country, with the demand, "Give up Kwei Wang, or take war," the terseness of which rivals Jenghiz-Khan's celebrated summonses to surrender. Though willing to offer an asylum to the fugitive, the Burmese were not disposed to undertake a war on his behalf,

and with little hesitation, therefore, they handed him and his family over to the invaders. Secure of his prize, the Manchu general despatched him to Peking, where he was put to death by strangulation. His wife and children, according to Du Halde, became Christians, and, by an unusual act of grace, were saved from the scaffold.

The Chinese version of this history differs in some particulars from that given above. According to the native authorities, after a residence of seven years in Burmah, Kwei Wang left his place of refuge to join his partisans in Kwei-chow, who were making a diversion in his favour. In passing through Yun-nan he was seized by Wu San-kwei, the Manchu general, who ordered the immediate execution of himself and his son.*

For more than a century from this period the two countries pursued their own courses without crossing each other's orbits. In China the Manchu power had been gradually consolidated by wise administration at home and by successful wars beyond the northern frontier; while in Burmah, after a succession of rebellions and internecine strife, a new and powerful dynasty had been established by a hunter named Alaungprá. No doubt matters on the frontier were not so satisfactory as it suited the two courts to consider them. Throughout their history the border Kakhyen and Shan tribes have been notorious as banditti and highwaymen, and, with these instincts ever urging them on to deeds of rapine, it is not to be supposed that the Yun-nanese traders enjoyed freedom from their attacks. But it is so generally the fate of Chinese merchants to be plundered, either by their own mandarins or by bandits, that sufrance has become the badge of all their tribe; and, if it had not been that an international character was given to an act of injustice, perpetrated on a Chinaman in the year 1765, peace between the two countries might long have remained undisturbed. But in that year a certain merchant named Laoli, on arriving from Momein at the frontier,

* Boulger's "*History of China*," vol. II. p. 313.

with a long train of oxen laden with merchandise, desired to build a bridge across the Tapeng river for the passage of his baggage-animals. In accordance with usage, he applied to the Governor of Bhamo for permission to undertake the work; and was kept waiting so long for an answer that in his haste he used expressions with regard to the governor which that functionary declared to be disrespectful. For this offence he was sent to Ava as a prisoner. There the authorities took a more lenient view of his misdemeanour, and released him, giving him at the same time permission to build the bridge. On returning to Bhamo, where he had left his merchandise, he found that his bales had been tampered with, and, not getting the redress which he considered his due, he proceeded to Yun-nan Foo, where he laid his complaint before the Chinese viceroy of the province. But even this matter would have been allowed to sleep in official oblivion, had not another dispute arisen almost immediately afterwards. This time the scene of the outrage was in the Burmese Shan State of Kiang-tung. A deliberate attempt was made by some Shans to defraud a Chinese trader, who, in defence of his rights, took up arms, and in the affray which followed one of his countrymen lost his life. As all fitting recompense was refused him by the Sitkē of the State, this trader also carried his case before the Viceroy of Yun-nan, who, acting on the advice of some refugee Shan nobles, recommended the Emperor to declare war against Burmah. This was done, and an invading force entered the State of Kiang-tung, and surrounded the city of that name. The advance of a Burmese army, however, compelled the Chinese to raise the siege, and in an engagement which followed the Chinese were defeated with the loss of their general. The retreat of the Chinese within their own borders brought the campaign to a close. But the Chinese seldom submit to defeats by their neighbours, and two years later another and more powerful invading army, consisting of 250,000 foot and 25,000 horse, marched into the country by two routes. 150,000

foot and 15,000 horse advanced on Bhamo by the Muang-wan route, and 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse marched by the Tsanda route against Mogaung. The first force, after posting a blockading army round Bhamo, pushed on to Kaung-tun and assaulted the city. Here they met with a determined resistance, and, as they advanced with their scaling ladders and ropes, the besieged poured such a heavy fire into their ranks that they were obliged to retreat to await reinforcements. Meanwhile, a larger army advanced from Ava up the Irawaddi, which, having communicated with and thrown supplies into Kaung-tun, marched on to Bhamo. Here the general in command attacked and carried the Chinese stockades, and then, returning to Kaung-tun assailed the besiegers in rear, while the garrison sallying out attacked them in front. The battle ended in a complete victory for the Burmese. The Chinese were utterly discomfited, and were compelled to retreat in the direction of Muang-wan. But the Burmese were quick to follow up their advantage, and by forced marches they out-paced their enemies and arrived first at Muang-wan. Having put this city in a state of defence, they marched out to meet the advancing Chinese host, and by skillful generalship they out-mancœuvred the Celestials, and in a succession of engagements so defeated and harassed them that they were obliged to beat a hasty retreat to Yun-nan, by way of Sanda. Before this consummating discomfiture another Chinese column had advanced by way of Thinni on the road to Ava. But the same ill fortune which had attended the other columns awaited this one, of which, after meeting with reverses, a remnant only succeeded in regaining Chinese territory. On all sides the Burmese were successful, and they reaped the reward of their prowess in the recovery of the eight Shan States in the basin of the Tapeng river, which for centuries had been included in the Chinese Empire.

But the Chinese can afford to meet with temporary discomfiture. Their strength lies not so much in military

skill and courage as in their overwhelming numbers and their obstinate persistency. Within the last few years we ourselves have witnessed instances of the steady perseverance with which, under discouraging circumstances, the provinces of Ili and Yun-nan were recovered from the rebels, after these had been to all intents and purposes separated from the empire for years; and K'ien-lung, who sat on the throne at the time of which we write, was the last man in the world to rest tamely under a defeat. Before the year was out, another and a larger army advanced to Thinnī which was occupied without opposition. Leaving a garrison in the town, the Chinese general pushed on towards Ava, defeating a Burmese column *en route*. But again the Burmese showed superior military skill. They cut off the Chinese supplies, harassed them at every step, and by a skilful attack recovered Thinnī from the invaders. Leaving a sufficient force to make this place secure, the Burmese general advanced to attack the main body of the Chinese in rear. By a preconcerted plan of action, the previously defeated Burmese army, which was in retreat, joined with this column in a night attack upon the Chinese. The manœuvre was completely successful and the discomfited Chinese general was compelled to beat a hasty retreat across the frontier.

But even now the Chinese would not own themselves beaten, and yet another army was sent across the frontier by the indomitable K'ien-lung. This time also the Chinese followed much the same tactics as on former occasions. They marched by Bhamo and stockaded themselves in the neighbourhood of Kaung-tun. Again the Burmese advanced up the Irawaddi and along its banks, and again they succeeded in throwing provisions and ammunition into Kaung-tun. The Chinese, who had made boats for themselves out of planks cut from the trees by the way, contested the supremacy on the river for a time but here also were out-manceuvred. Several engagements, both on land and water, which ended in victories for the Burmese, led up to the final attack on the

main Chinese army within the great stockade. The assault was made simultaneously on the four faces of the work. The Chinese for a time fought well, but they were no match for their assailants, who at length forced an entrance and drove the garrison out of the works in full retreat. Anxious to follow up his victory, the Burmese general brought the main body of his troops to the eastern bank of the Irawaddi in preparation for a further attack. But the spirit of the Chinese was broken and the two commanders-in-chief summoned a council of war to decide on offering terms of peace. They laid stress on the hardships the troops had undergone, and, in view of the increasing unhealthiness of the climate, urged the necessity of bringing the war to a close. These views were accepted by the council, a letter was addressed to the Burmese general offering terms, and, after some negotiations, fourteen Burmese and thirteen Chinese commissioners met to conclude a peace. As it would be plainly inconsistent with the attitude of suzerainty assumed by the Chinese to conclude a formal treaty with a tributary, no mention is made by Chinese historians of anything beyond a general agreement having been arrived at on this occasion. The Burmese on the other hand assert that the following treaty was drawn up and formally signed by the international commissioners:—

"Wednesday, December 13, 1769, in the temporary building to the south-east of the town of Kaung-tun, His Excellency the General of the Lord who rules over the multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs in the Western Kingdom the Sun-descended King of Ava, and Master of the Golden Palace, having appointed [here follow the names and titles of the fourteen Burmese officers], and the generals of the Master of the Golden Palace of China, who rules over a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs in the great Eastern Kingdom, having appointed [here follow the names and titles of the thirteen Chinese officers], they assembled in the large building erected in the proper manner with seven roofs to the south-east of the town of Kaung-tun, on December

13, 1769, to negotiate peace and friendship between the two great countries, and that the gold and silver road should be established agreeably to former custom. The troops of the Sun-descended King and Master of the Golden Palace of Ava, and those of the Golden Palace of China, are drawn up in front of each other when these negotiations took place; and, after its conclusion, each party made presents to the other, agreeably to former custom, and retired. All men, the subjects of the Sun-descended King and Master of the Golden Palace of Ava, who may be in any part of the dominions of the Master of the Golden Palace of China, shall be treated according to former custom. Peace and friendship being established between the two great countries, they shall become one, like two pieces of gold united into one; and suitably to the establishment of the gold and silver road, as well as agreeably to former custom, the princes and officers of each country shall move their respective sovereigns to transmit and exchange affectionate letters on gold, once every ten years."

In addition to the terms contained in this agreement, it was arranged that the Chinese should give up to the Burmese the three Soabwās of Thinni, Bhamo, and Mogaung who had taken refuge in Yun-nan, and that in return the Burmese on their part should restore the Chinese prisoners of war confined in Burmese territory. It was also understood that the Chinese boats on the Irawaddi should be handed over to the Burmese. Neither of these conditions did the Chinese fulfil. They burnt their boats, and omitted to give up the three Soabwās. These breaches of contract threatened at one time to endanger the peace; but both countries were weary of the war, and though the King of Burmah found fault with his generals for having allowed the Chinese army to escape, he refrained from renewing hostilities, while K'ien-lung showered distinctions on his generals for their conduct of the campaign and negotiations. The Chinese traders lost no time in taking advantage of the restoration of peace, and in the autumn of the following

year (1770) the caravans came down as before to Bhamo, Kaung-tun and other Burmese marts.

In the Chinese records great stress is laid on the duty of Burmah to pay "tribute" to the court of Peking once in every ten years, while all reference to a corresponding duty on the part of China as provided for in the treaty is carefully omitted. As a matter of fact, however, the Chinese were the first to send a mission, the members of which arrived at Thinní in 1787. Great preparations were made by the Burmese court to give these officers a fitting reception, and, on a given day, with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty, the ambassadors were received by the king, to whom they presented a letter in gold, accompanied by eight images of Brahmá cast in gold, eight carpets, ten pieces of gold cloth, and ten horses. The letter was couched in terms of equality, except that K'ien-lung spoke of himself throughout as the "elder brother," and of the king as "his younger brother."

In return for this evidence of friendly alliance the king appointed ambassadors to return with the Chinese envoys, and deputed them to present a letter in gold, addressed by "The protector of religion, the sun-descended king of righteousness... owner of the white, red, and mottled elephants, and proprietor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, and amber, who rules over the great kingdoms and all the umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward," to his "royal friend, the lord of the golden palace, who rules over the great kingdoms and all the umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward," and accompanied by royal presents, consisting of "four elephants, one hundred *vis* weight of elephants' teeth, an ivory helmet surmounted by a ruby and another encircled with rubies and surmounted by a sapphire, two ruby rings, one sapphire ring, one *vis* weight of Mobyé stone, one piece of yellow broadcloth, one piece of green broadcloth, ten pieces of chintz, ten pieces of handkerchief, ten carpets, one hundred books of gold leaf, one hundred books of silver leaf, ten *vis* weight of white perfume, four

large lacquered-ware boxes, and fifty small lacquered-ware boxes."

From this account it appears that the presents sent by the King of Burmah far exceeded in value those transmitted from Peking; and it is a noticeable fact that the Chinese envoys took leave of the Burmese ambassadors in Yun-nan, instead of accompanying them to the capital to report the termination of their mission. The assumption would seem to be, therefore, that this and other missions which were understood by the Burmese to be of an Imperial character, were in fact sent by the viceroy of Yun-nan in fulfilment of treaty conditions, which were possibly never reported in full to K'ien-lung. Circumstances connected with subsequent so-called Imperial missions, which will be referred to further on, seem to confirm this suggestion. The only missions mentioned in the Chinese chronicles are those which are stated to have been sent on the occasions of the installation of succeeding kings, when, in the character of suzerain, the Emperor confirmed their right to the throne. Not much importance, also, can be attributed to the expressions made use of in the translations of the letters addressed to either sovereign, as in the hands of skilful interpreters slight turns in phrases might be easily introduced to flatter the vanity of the recipients.

Another fact which seems to throw doubt on the Imperial character of the Chinese missions is their frequency. By the treaty, it was laid down that presents should be exchanged once in ten years; but three years had hardly elapsed since the last so-called embassy when the Soabwā of Bhamo reported to the king that a mission, consisting of several Chinese officers of high rank, had arrived at Momein, bringing with them, in addition to the usual presents, three Chinese "princesses" for His Majesty's acceptance. This embassy was received with as great, if not with greater ceremony than the last, and the "princesses" were lodged in the palace, in apartments especially constructed for them. Colonel Burney, how-

ever, states that these ladies, far from being Manchu princesses, were in reality large-footed women from the city of Malung, in Yun-nan. Even if this evidence had not been forthcoming, their designation would have shown that they belonged to the people. They are called in Burmese history, so Colonel Burney writes, Ta-ku-nyen, E-ku-nyen and Than-ku-nyen. These last, recurring syllables are evidently the Chinese Ku-niang, which is equivalent to "Miss," and the young ladies, therefore, were the Misses Ta, E, and Than. As an instance of the curious and elaborate way in which the Burmese king was imposed upon in this particular case, it is worth recording that, soon after their arrival, the young ladies addressed a letter in Burmese to the Emperor of China, in which they styled him "grandfather," and in which they adjured him, as he valued his soul, to embrace Buddhism.

It is possible that those envoys who escorted these "princesses" to Amarapura may have been the members of a commission appointed by K'ien-lung to settle the boundaries between Siam and Burmah. According to the Chinese historians, an ambassador from Siam reached Peking, in 1789, with a petition from the king, complaining that in 1765 a Burmese army had invaded Siam and had captured three cities which the King of Ava continued to hold, and begging the Emperor to order him to restore the conquered territory. In consequence of this representation the Emperor commissioned the Viceroy of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se to go in person to settle the question, which he did, or at least said that he did.

Two years after the arrival of the ladies, a return Burmese mission was sent to China, bearing valuable presents to the Emperor, and to the Viceroy of Yun-nan; and in 1795 another embassy arrived at Amarapura, the members of which palmed themselves off as Imperial ambassadors, and the gifts they brought as being from the Emperor. Captain Symes, however, who met these envoys at Amarapura, considered them to be, as they

doubtless were, members of a provincial deputation only. Scarcely, however, had these envoys gone out from the presence of the king when another batch of ambassadors arrived, bringing with them a letter from K'ien-lung, announcing his intended abdication and the nomination of his son Shi-wu-ye, afterwards known as Kia-k'ing, to the throne. Colonel Burney gives the following translation of the letter, which is both interesting and important; and though the final sentence, in which the writer begs the king to regard Shi-wu-ye as his younger brother and his son, would seem to imply equality, it must be remembered that we have only a translation of a translation before us:—

“As darkness disappears,” wrote the Emperor, “through the rays of perfumed light, and as light is received when the white rays of daybreak appear after the third quarter of the night, so, when reflecting on the affairs of the kingdom, and of sentient beings, a good idea occurred [to me]. In the beginning of the world the early emperors of China, when they attained an advanced age, abandoned the throne to their sons and retired to the wilderness. In the same manner [I] now propose to abdicate in favour of [my] son. Among [my] ancestors the name of the son who was considered most worthy to succeed his father as king, was written and placed on the canopy [over the throne]. When Yung-ching, my father, died, the officers, agreeably to the document which he had written and left, raised me to the throne. My grandfather K'ang-hi reigned sixty-one years, and my father Yung-ching thirteen years. The *Thagyá* and all the other *Nats* having day and night assisted me, I have reigned sixty-one years and am now eighty-six years of age; and, although my sight and hearing are good, and my physical strength is as complete as ever, I am become an old man. After searching for a proper successor for a period of sixteen years, agreeably to the custom of the early kings, I found my eldest son Lu-yé, and intended him to be king, but in consequence of his death, my second son, Shi-wu-ye, will assume the sovereignty

with the title of Kia-king, on the first day of Tabaung, in the sixty-first year of [my] reign, and at a propitious moment calculated by the astronomers. Shi-wu-ye is not an ordinary son; he is a man qualified to conduct all the affairs of the kingdom. [Our] two countries have established a true friendship, to continue to our son's son, and are united like two pieces of gold into one. Consider Shi-wu-ye as [your] own younger brother, and as [your] own son, and assist and look [after him]."

No mention is made by Burmese historians of the arrival of any Chinese missions between the last date and the year of the death of Kia-king (1819), though, judging from the constant flow of envoys prior to that time, it is reasonable to suppose that the vanity of the Burmese court continued to be tickled by the appearance of mandarin visitors. The mission of 1819 was doubtless sent to announce, in the formal manner usually adopted towards tributary states, the decease of the Emperor. But it may be doubted whether the one which followed in 1823, had equally good credentials. According to the Burmese account the two ambassadors, Yan Ta-lo-ye and Yen Tsheng-ye, brought an imperial letter which, judging from its contents, appears to have been forced from the Emperor Taou-kwang, by the refusal of the Burmese to receive certain presents transmitted by the Viceroy of Yun-nan without one. To soothe the susceptibilities of the court of Ava, which had been ruffled by this omission, Taou-kwang ordered Yan Ta-lo-ye to go again with the presents, and commissioned the Viceroy of Yun-nan to present on his behalf to the king "a royal letter, two fur jackets lined with yellow silk, one small *yenthain* box, two boxes containing glass tea cups with covers and saucers . . . and a male and female mule with saddles complete." But, from the account referred to above, it is plain that the viceroy either wilfully disobeyed his master's commands, or that it was secretly understood that he was not expected to comply with them, for we find that, on the second occasion,

also, Yan Ta-lo-ye was the principal ambassador. The title of this man points to the fact that he was not of ambassadorial rank. Ta-laou-ye is a title borne by mandarins of the rank of Prefect and sub-Prefect, and certainly not by any person who would be of fit and proper rank to represent the Son of Heaven at the court of a sovereign claiming equality. His coadjutor appears from his designation to have been of still inferior quality. The suffix "Tsheng-ye" indicates that he was a graduate without any official rank whatever. The Burmese were, however, satisfied with the compliment paid them, and despatched a return mission to Peking, where the envoys were hospitably entertained, and were received in audience by the Emperor. Ten years later there was again an exchange of presents and compliments.

Such have been the relations in past time between the courts of Peking and Ava, and the quotation given above from *The Peking Gazette* reflects the present condition of diplomatic intercourse between the two states. It has long been the policy of China to surround herself with friendly, it not in the strict sense tributary, nations, who should act as buffers to ward off the approach of "outside barbarians" to her frontier. With these she encourages in every way commercial relations, and has shown that she is by no means backward in taking up the cudgels, on their behalf when they have been attacked. She has thus attached them to her, and, from the superior cultivation of her people, her overwhelming population, and her great wealth, they have been not unwilling to kotow before her. It is possible that, if the question had been put to Thebaw, whether he was a tributary to China or no, he would have indignantly denied the impeachment, and very likely he would have said so in good faith. But it is quite impossible to suppose that the terms in which the Burmese missions are spoken of in *The Peking Gazette* are unknown to Thebaw's ministers. Indeed, the relations between the two courts appear to be based on an organised system of make-believe. The Burmese ministers

know perfectly well that their envoys are regarded by the whole Chinese nation as the messengers of a vassal, and the gifts they bear as tribute, and they must be equally conscious that the Chinese ambassadors who haunt their capital are clothed with just so much official sanction as to prevent their being ridiculous.

The depth to which the Burmese have descended in acknowledging fealty to the Emperor may be gauged by the fact that they received from him a gold seal, "purporting to confer on the King of Ava the same power and authority as the Emperor himself possessed over every part of the Chinese Empire (?). This seal is still at Ava, and is said to be of pure gold, weighing 3 *viss*, or 10 lb., and of the form of a camel, with some Chinese characters at the bottom. At the time it was brought to Ava, the question arose as to the propriety of retaining such a gift, as its acceptance might afterwards be construed into an admission that the King of Ava derived his power from the Emperor of China, or that the latter confirmed the former's title to the throne of Ava. The value of the gold, however, of which the seal was made is said to have decided the Burmese court in favour of keeping it."* The existence of this seal gives support to the Chinese case, and its reception was a distinct recognition of the suzerainty of the "Son of Heaven." But this submission has not the same importance as it would have in western lands. Fealtyship sits lightly on the conscience of an Asiatic. So long as the yoke does not gall his shoulders, he willingly submits to it, especially if there are counterbalancing advantages to put against his loss of dignity. In the present case the value of commercial relations with China is quite a sufficient inducement to the subjects of Thebaw to bow the head to Peking, and this is the secret of the constant interchanges of missions, not only between China and Burmah, but between China and Korea, Mongolia, Tibet, and Annam. The envoys have special commercial advantages accorded

* Colonel Burney's paper on "The Wars between Burmah and China" in vol. vi. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

to them. They are allowed to bring large followings and long baggage trains. For instance, on the return mission in 1833 the Burmese envoys had 46 followers, and the crews of the boats amounted to 218 men. The goods they carry are exempt from duty, and the presents they receive, added to the profits on their trafficking, make the post of ambassador one which is eagerly sought after.

The relation between the two countries is thus based solely and entirely on the principles of mutual advantage; and the complimentary letters and presents exchanged between the two sovereigns are but the garnishing of the dishes of solid nourishment and support which the merchants on both sides of the frontier secure by the exchange of their commodities. But, in order that this advantage should accrue, it is above all things necessary that the trade routes should be uninterrupted, and that merchants should have some security that the goods they despatch will in the ordinary course reach their destination. Of late assumptions of this kind have had a very problematical fulfilment. The Shan and Kakhyen tribes who inhabit the borderlands have been infected with the disorders of the rest of Thebaw's dominions, and, being at the farthest distance from the capital, they have had less difficulty and less compunction in kicking over the traces, and in governing themselves, in default of having anyone else to rule over them.

Although nature and their surroundings have imparted to these tribes a certain lawlessness of disposition, they are by no means blind to the fact that, lying as they do in the track of a large and profitable trade, peace and plenty are interdependent terms. At the time of Colonel Sladen's visit, the chiefs of several of the tribes expressed their earnest hope that British trade should be established in the country, and they declared themselves prepared to guarantee a free transit to all caravans. If steps had then been taken to open up the trade through these states, these promises would probably have been found to have been made in

good faith. But the chiefs waited, and waited in vain, for any sign of the white-faced merchants whom they had been led to expect; and, when all hope of their appearance vanished, they made no effort to bridle their predatory habits, but continued to levy on all passing traders just so much black mail as their goods were able to bear, and the Burmese Government would tolerate. Soon after Thebaw's accession, however, they found that the Burmese Government was not a factor that they need trouble themselves about. They found that, as the king's tyranny increased, the area over which his writs ran grew less, and, just as the decay in the life of a forest tree becomes first observable at the extremities of the branches, so they recognised the first symptoms of the decline of Thebaw's power in the increasing lawlessness of the districts abutting on their territories.

In these circumstances it may be readily imagined with what ease and rapidity things went from bad to worse. As the exactions of the blackmailers became more and more excessive, trade declined, and the highwaymen, having thus killed the goose which laid the golden eggs, were driven in pursuit of plunder further afield. This it was which induced them to attack Bhamo at the beginning of the year. The sack of that place yielded them for the moment a rich spoil. But in this they overstepped the limits even of Thebaw's impotence, Bhamo, being the point of departure for the Chinese trade, was too important a town to be lost without a struggle. An army was therefore sent to recover it; but the works thrown up by the bandits were so strong that the Burmese general deemed it wise to postpone an attack until he had received reinforcements. As events turned out, the most powerful foes the besieged had to contend with were those of their own household. Being as unused to yield continued obedience as their leaders were to administer a government, the rank and file of the Shan-Kakhyen force split up into factions under stress of a siege, and a portion of them opened negotiations with the Burmese

commander for the surrender of the city. The Burman's condition for the safe conduct of the garrison to their native hills was the surrender of the dead bodies of the Shan-Kakhyen leaders. This was agreed to, and the remains of two men who had died of fever having been duly hacked to give them the necessary murdered look, were then handed over to the Burmese. The besieged thus recovered their liberty, and Bhamo passed again under the Burmese flag.

It may be imagined with what impatience the Chinese, who are essentially a nation of shop-keepers, have regarded the interference with their trade with Burmah begotten by these circumstances, more especially when they found that the drunken despot whose shameful misgovernment had brought about this disorder was coquetting with the French, whose presence in Tong-king already constitutes so serious a danger to the peace of the empire. The establishment of a strong power in Upper Burmah is recognised by Chinese statesmen as the most effectual remedy against the existing evil and the still more serious complications which would arise from French intrigues. Of us they have no fear. They would be perfectly willing to see our frontier made coterminous with their own, as the benevolent offices which they volunteered during the late campaign sufficiently indicate. Fortune comes to us, therefore, with both hands full. Thus "everything lies level to our wish;" but it must be borne in mind that it is only with the full concurrence of the Chinese that we can make the best use of our position. In conjunction with them the pacification of the border tribes and the consequent security of the trade routes can be easily effected, but without their co-operation the task would be one of continual anxiety and of uncertain results. Any legitimate concessions, therefore, which would tend to secure a future cordial alliance with China should unquestionably be made, and we have no hesitation in saying that a compact so concluded would exercise a peaceful and beneficent influence over the whole of south-eastern Asia.

ROBERT K. DOUGLAS.

THE TURKS IN PERSIA AND THE CAUCASUS.

IN speaking of Persia and of its people, we are generally too apt to assume that the great majority of the inhabitants are Iranians of pure origin, and that the Turks represent merely a small and inconsiderable fraction, which settled in the north of the country not further back than the beginning of the Mohammedan era. This is decidedly a mistake. The Turks, within the boundaries of Persia and in Transcaucasia were known in those countries long before that time; for, even admitting that the outskirts of modern Iran, extending to the north of Khorasan, possessed that amount of culture which can only be attributed to a strictly Iranian population, it is undoubted that the *Ghuz* mentioned by the Arab geographers as living in the limitroph deserts beyond the Atrek and Gurgan were Turkomans. Nor is it a fact less clearly established that these Turkomans or *Ghuz* had, long before the appearance of the Romans, spread across the whole Hyrcanian desert, as far as the embouchures of the Volga, and beyond the Caspian to the north of the Caucasus, whence their name passed into the Byzantine Empire, under the form of *Ouz*, an easily recognisable transformation of the original *Ghuz*. Similar erroneous statements have been made and seem to prevail as to the existence of the Turks in the east of ancient Persia, namely, on the banks of the Oxus, and beyond it in the central Asian Khanates of to-day. Our scholars rely chiefly upon the data furnished by Zemarchos, the Byzantine ambassador of Emperor Justin, in 568, to Dizabulus, Prince of the Turks, who is said to have lived in or near the Altai

mountains. From the record of that embassy has sprung up the belief that the Turks made their first appearance in the province of Sogd, in the sixth century after Christ, although there is evident proof that this must have occurred at a much earlier date. In the Uzbeg epic, which I have recently published, the Oxus or Amudarya is always called *Oguz* or *Ögüz*, a word meaning in old Turkish, a river, or water. Undoubtedly this was the very word from which the *Oξος* of the Greeks was derived, by merely adding the final syllable *os* to the Turkish *Oguz*, as heard by the followers of the great Macedonian. The name itself still survives among the Turkomans, who call the ancient bed of this river, visible to the present day in the Hyrcanian steppe, by the name of *Ouz* or *Uz*, for the *Uzboi* or *Uz-boyi*, means along the *Uz*. Now, if the Greeks heard, 300 years before Christ, the name of the Oxus under a Turkish designation of *Oguz*, and not under a Persian name, as might have been expected from the Iranian population of ancient Sogdiana, it can be taken for granted that they were Turks with whom they came into contact on the banks of this river 300 years before Christ. Consequently, the assertion that it was not until the sixth century after Christ that nomads belonging to the Turkish race appeared on both banks of the Oxus falls to the ground. They were there several centuries before our era, and they undoubtedly acted an important part in guiding historical events of a remote antiquity.

If we continue our investigations about the origin and the early history of the Turks along the northern outskirts of the Kherasan and Kubbet mountains, we shall find that the more generally adopted view, that the influx of Turkish elements was not previous to the time of the first Khalifs, whose guards and auxiliary forces showed a preponderance of Turkish extraction, is likewise far from being based upon historical evidence. We fully admit the dubious and unreliable character of the Latin and Greek sources, from which the nationality of the Parthians is deduced, and we

lay as little stress upon the romantic report of Firdusi about the savage inhabitants of the steppes to the north of Persia, from whom the Turanian or Turkish nomads might be easily imagined to descend. But, on the other hand, we may and do fully rely upon the proof furnished by the linguistic monuments of the Persian language—monuments, which amply testify to the considerable number of Turkish words occurring in the earliest Persian texts, and which evidently originated from a long previous and incessant communication with a people of Turkish nationality. Of course, many of these words are put down in our dictionaries as being of genuine Persian origin, a mistake equally made by Richardson, Johnson, Vullers; and by the authors of the *Ferhenghi Shuana*, *Burhani Kati*, &c.; but the present state of Turkish philology will easily prove the contrary, and these pseudo-Iranian words are to be found, not only in the "*Shahname*" ("*Book of Kings*"), but also in the language of the *Zend-Avesta*, as W. Geiger has already insinuated in his valuable "*Ostiranische Cultur in Alterthum*" (Erlangen 1882)—a fact which leaves no doubt as to the presence of a Turkish population in the north of Iran, or immediately neighbouring to it in remote antiquity.

As to the Turks in the Caucasus, which was an integral part of Persia up to the end of the last century, we may safely surmise that the Khazars and their offspring, the Kumüiks, visited and partially settled in the cis-Caucasian regions in the first centuries of our era, although the report of the Armenian chronicler, Kagankatwadzi, about an inroad of the Khazars into Agvania, the Albania of the Romans, as early as 450 a.c., can be hardly taken as historical evidence. Not less hazy is the statement of Priscus, the Rhetor, referring to an irruption of the Huns under Attila into Persia, whose ethnical border extended at that time up to Bender, to a place whence the Iranian influence had spread on both banks of the Lower Volga, amongst the Ugrian and Turkish population, as amply proved by

Persian words existing in the languages of the Tcheremisians, Votyaks, Voguls, Cumanians, and Hungarians; words borrowed through the introduction of old Parsee—or, more correctly speaking, Zoroastrian—religious, social and political habits amongst the aforesaid nomadic and barbarian nations. It is only after the spread of Islam in these regions, and particularly during the reign of the Khalifs, Hishan ben Abdulmelik and Harun-er-Rashid, that we get some accurate notion of the movements of the Turks in the Caucasus and in Azerbaijan. It was at this period that the army of the Khazars penetrated far into Azerbaijan, whence they are said to have carried away 10,000 prisoners. It is not unlikely that some of the Turkish tribes were early visitors to the steppes of Shirvan, Mugan, and Karabag, and along the Kur and Araxes, but the bulk of them could only have migrated there in the first centuries after the Mohammedan era. The present Turkish population of Transcaucasia must, therefore, be looked upon as descendants of those Turkish warriors who were brought into the country by the first Arab Khalifs, by the Seldjukians, the Ilkhanis of Persia, and by the subsequent dynasties of Iran. Those warriors were brought partly from Azerbaijan, and partly from the south-eastern shores of the Caspian.

Regarding the number and the geographical extension of the Turks in Iran and the Caucasus, it is only in the last-named country that reliable statistical data can be obtained, for in Persia we can do no more than approximate to the number of one or two millions. The Turks in the Caucasus number 991,700 souls under the following division:—

Daghestan	19,700	Erivan	213,900
Baku	340,800	Tiflis	63,700
Elisabetopol ...	337,900	Soktsal	15,700

The Turks are to be met with in the regions extending from the southern slopes of the great Caucasian range to

the Araxes, and they form the bulk of the population in the old Khanate of Shirvan, and in the Gubernium of Elisabetopol. They are also settled in large numbers throughout the plain stretching between Shemakha, Nukha and Shusha. They are dwellers as well in the low-lying lands watered by the rivers Kur and Araxes, to as far as the Wilash-tchai, in the district of Lenkoran. The earliest settlement in and around Shirvan was made after the invasion of the Mongols, and this element was strengthened by further immigration during the wars between the Akkoyunlu (party of the white sheep), and Karakoyunlu (party of the black sheep). This is sufficiently proved by the existing Moham-medan architectural monuments of Shirvan, which are of a much older date than those of Erivan, to which place the Turks flocked in still larger numbers during and after the rise of the Sefevian dynasty. As to their tribal origin, the Turks in Transcaucasia represent fractions of the same tribes and clans as are scattered over Persia. Thus, for example, there are *Shahsevens* in the environs of Baku, and in the provinces of Teheran, Fars, and Khamseh; we find *Kadjars* in the village of Kadjar and in the district of Shemakha, as well as in Mazendran, which is properly their ancient seat. There are *Leks* on the Kura plain, in the district of Göktchai, as well as in other parts of Persia; finally we find the *Kengharlu* tribe in the districts of Göktchai and Kuba, as well as in the province of Teheran. As a further proof of the strict affinity between the Turks in Transcaucasia and in Iran, we can point to the similarity in physical features between the two fractions, a fact which could not be ascertained in a comparison between the Caucasian Turks on the one side and the Kumüks and Nogais on the other. Suffice it to say that there are the closest bonds of affinity by which the Turks of Transcaucasia are united with their brethren of Iran; and it is only since the advent of the Kadjar dynasty that, by the inevitable rise and fall of empires, they have been separated politically.

In turning to the Turkish population of Iran proper, we

find them: (1) In Azerbaijan, beginning from the right bank of the Araxes in a southerly direction along the frontier of Kurdistan beyond Urumia as far as Kermanshah. (2) In Khamseh, *i.e.*, in the districts between Azerbaijan and Teheran, namely, in the environs of Zendjan. (3) In the district of Teheran, namely, in the valleys of the Demavend, and in the environs of the capital. (4) In Kerman, namely, in that portion which is limitroph with Fars. (5) In Iran, particularly in and around Hamadan. (6) In Fars, where they change their summer and winter residences from the frontiers of Isfahan, sometimes as far as to the seacoast. (7) In Khorasan, most numerous around Nishapur, Kuchan, Djuvein, and Kelati Nadiri. According to their tribal division, we have to mention before all the Kadjars, the actually reigning family of Persia, which derives its origin from Sertak Noyan, a Mongolian chief of great influence during the reigns of the successors of Djenghiz Khan. Sertak's son Kadjar gave his name to the whole tribe. In the fourteenth century they roamed about the frontiers of Syria, whence they were forcibly transplanted by Timur to Azerbaijan, and migrated afterwards to Ghendje and other places of Transcaucasia, where they remained until the reign of Shah Abbas the Great, who had sent them to the banks of the Gorgan, and to the environs of Kuchan to serve as a kind of military barrier against the inroads of the Turkomans. Next to these come the *Shahseven*, a tribal name, meaning, literally, "loving the king," and evidently connected with the party feeling of those fractions of the Turkomans, who separated from their brethren of the eastern coast of the Caspian and followed the fortunes of Shah Ismail Sefevi. The name being of a comparatively recent and rather political character, we must not wonder that the Shah-sevens have sprung from various Turkoman tribes. To-day they are to be found in Persia and in Transcaucasia, particularly near Erdebil, where they spend the summer on the slopes of the Savallan mountain, while they pass

the winter on the Mugan steppe. The *Shahsevens* of Iran proper live between Kum, Teheran, Kazvin, and Zendjan. Their number is computed at 60,000 souls, and they enjoy the reputation of being the most unruly and warlike of all the Iranian Turks.

After the *Shahsevens* we may mention the *Kashkai* and *Allahverdi* in southern Persia, who migrated to that part of Iran during the reign of the Atabegs, and, as both these names occur as tribal denominations up to this day amongst the Turkomans, we cannot have any doubt as to their being of strictly Turkoman origin. During my visit to southern Persia, in 1861, I met with the *Kashkais* on the plain of Mardesht and near the Niriz Lake, whilst Col. Oliver St. John saw them some years ago in their winterquarters near the village Ferrashibend, situated on a plateau 3,000 feet high. In their features, both bear the mark of a southern climate, but their dialect has retained much of its early origin. The same fact is to some extent traceable in their social life. Djafar Khormudji, a Persian geographical writer, still living in Shiraz, divides the *Kashkais* into *Kashkai* proper, and *Khaladj*, estimating their total number at 60,000 souls. Among the Turks in South Persia, the same author also reckons the *Inanlu*, 12,000, and the *Baharlu* 12,500 souls strong. He classes them as *Ilal*, i.e., nomadic people. There are besides the *Karakoyunlu* in the environs of Khoi, very probably the offspring of the historically famous Turkoman tribe, which became the object of Timur's bloody vengeance.

Smaller portions of different tribes are to be met with in various parts of Persia, where they have been driven by the wars and revolutions of bygone ages. It is only after the consolidation of the Kadjar dynasty on the throne of Iran, at the beginning of the present century, that the influx of Turkish elements on any large scale from the neighbouring steppes has been brought to a standstill. From this time, the gulf separating the Iranian Turks from their northern brethren, has become wider. Sectarian fanaticism and a

totally different mode of living have made both parties implacable enemies, and, strangely enough, only the half-savage Turkoman on the banks of the Gurgan, and the Atrek preserves a faint recollection of the former relationship, by saying of the Azerbaijani : " Alas, he is our brother, that unbeliever ! " This brotherhood cannot be proved to-day by a similarity of features, or of moral and social life. A comparison of the tribal denominations of the Turks in Iran, and of those in the steppes, will alone establish the connection. Thus we find—

The tribe <i>Khodja Ali</i> in Kurahag, and <i>Khodja Ali</i> among the Sariks			
" <i>Begdilli</i>	" "	" <i>Begdilli</i>	" Tekkes.
" <i>Kengher</i>	" Transcaucasia, and <i>Kongör</i>	" "	" "
" <i>Kara</i>	" Kerman,	" <i>Kara</i> around Andkhol.	
" <i>Bayat</i> around Nishapur,	" <i>Bayat</i> among the Salors.		

This similarity of tribal designation could be proved in many other instances, but it is quite superfluous to augment the evidences of a common origin of the Iranian Turks and Turkomans ; for, although not excluding the possibility of a small intermixture with Eastern Turks, nay even Mongols, we must look at the Persian Turks of to-day as *having come from the steppes, in the north of Persia, and as the genuine brethren of those very nomads with whom they have been at deadly feud for several centuries.*

After what we have said of the origin and classification of the Iranian Turks, we may look at their physical and moral qualities ; and here we can state at once that, in spite of being scattered over nearly the whole of Iran, there is still an unquestionable similarity of features, which will be noticed on comparing them with the other inhabitants of the country. In spite of the intermixture with Caucasians, Kurds, Armenians, Iranians, Arabs, &c., the Turk has retained to this day many of those physical peculiarities which are common to the whole Turko-Tatar family. The Turk in Azerbaijan, and also in Shiraz, is more clumsy and robust in appearance than the Persian. His skull is less oblong, his face broader, and less expressive ;

his eyes are of a less delicate cut, the lids being thicker ; his nose is short and broad, in fact his whole physiognomy is different from that of the Iranian. The heaviness and want of refinement, so conspicuous in the physical appearance of the Iranian Turk, will be also noticed in his mental qualities, which are, of course, much inferior to those of the true Iranian. In comparing a Tabriz merchant with his Turkish contemporary peaceably squatting in the bazaar of Erzerum or Kharpout, we may well feel inclined to attribute to the former a vast amount of wit, cunning, and sharpness. But this suspected mental superiority will soon disappear if the Tabrizman is brought face to face with an Isfahani, or Shirazi, who is really of an astounding cleverness, and whose flowery oratory, used even when referring to the most trivial business, will not only disconcert the good Azerbaijani citizen, but will demonstrate the fact that a certain heaviness sticks to a Turkish brain, in spite of many hundred years of uninterrupted connection with the culturally superior Persian. In religious matters, the common tie of Shiite faith tends towards a stricter union between the two ethnic elements of Persia. Nay, the Turk is even a more rigid believer in the tenets of Shiism than his Iranian co-religionary ; but even here we note a good deal of animosity and a Mutchtehid, or Sayid, from South Persia has always a hard standing in Azerbaijan, or in any other Turkish community. The only characteristic by which the Turk in Iran has been influenced through his Persian countryman is the commercial spirit, and the love of gain. In volubility of language, which is so advantageously used in commercial transactions, the Iranian Turk very frequently outdoes his teacher, and it is by this means that he has become the unrivalled trader, not only of Asia Minor but also of the European dependency of the Ottoman Empire. Erzerum, Trebizond, Samsun, Smyrna, Kharpout, Sivas, have always harboured a large number of Kizilbash merchants, who, despised, derided, and persecuted by the Sunnite population, have nevertheless exploited the sluggishness and want

of enterprise of the Ottoman Turk. Without the competition of the Armenians and Greeks, the Iranian Turk, it may be said, would long ago have dominated the markets of Turkey.

Excepting, however, this peculiar feature of character, which belongs also to a comparatively small portion, the Turks in Persia have steadily adhered to the peculiarities of their race; for, in spite of the long and intimate connection with the Persian element, the proverb—"You may cut the Turk and Persian in small pieces, and, throwing them in one cauldron, you may let them boil months and years, they will never amalgamate, and will be always discernible from each other"—still retains all its force. The Turk gives preference to the semi-nomadic, or if possible, to the permanently wandering life. He is eminently fond of equestrian sport, of warlike engagements, and particularly of good arms; he clings with rare tenacity to the patriarchal constitution of society, and to him *clan* and *tribe* are identical with family. He still believes in the old Turkish superstitions. He recites the very poetry, which is the favourite pastime of his deadly foe, the Turkoman, and his love for his national idiom is so deeply rooted that he rarely or never will master the Persian language—a peculiarity from which not even the ruling family of the Kadjar is exempt, for the present Shah, Nasrullah, speaks the Persian language with a foreign, *i.e.*, Turkish accent. Let me add that his style is thoroughly Persian, and his poetical compositions are not without taste and merit.

Other members of the royal family of Persia prefer even to this day their national idiom to the Persian, and I remember, amongst others, the late Sultan Murad Mirza, called Hisam es Saltanat (the naked sword of the State), uncle of the present ruler, whose acquaintance I made in Meshed years ago, to have been a very good Turkish scholar, and more conversant with the poetry of Nevai than any Turkish prince of Central Asia. With other clans this strict adherence to the Turkish nationality becomes

still more striking, and, although the Khans or chiefs of the Shahseven, Sheikhlú, Afshar, Usanlu, Mahmudlu, Begdilli, and others, are pretty well acquainted with the Persian colloquial language, they use by preference in their correspondence the Turkish dialect, called Azerbaijani, and delight in poetical works written in that idiom. What we said about the language, applies also to the customs and manners of the Iranian Turks, upon whom the close contact of nearly 600 years has wrought but a very slight influence so far as their daily life and mode of thinking are concerned. The great majority of them are addicted to agriculture and cattle-breeding, but the love of warlike adventures has not been wiped out of their memory, and military life is certainly more popular with them, than amongst the purely Aryan population of the country.

The Turk has always been the *natio militans* of Iran, and the larger part of the Persian army is recruited from that race. This has been the case ever since the irruption of the Mongols, and even before that period. Owing to this circumstance the throne of Persia, centuries ago, fell into the hands of the Turkish princes; for, excepting the short rule of Kerim Khan Zend, whose auxiliaries were chiefly of the Kashkai and Allahverdi tribes, the kings of Persia sprang from one or the other of those Turkish semi-nomadic tribes, whose remnants are to be seen to-day either in Transcaucasia or in the north of Iran. According to the hitherto unshaken patriarchal constitution of the different clans, the Khan, or chief, had always an unrestrained command over his tribe, which followed blindly his command, and shared equally in his fortunes. As the Ilkhanides, Sefevians, and Afshars were the rulers and princes of the country, so are the Kadjars to-day, and, although single members of the royal family have sunk down to the level of servants, bookbinders, and coachmen, they still look upon the supreme power as theirs by right. The old spirit of family or tribal bonds is particularly vigorous among the Turks who form the irregular cavalry of the country, the

military constitution of which does not differ very much from that of the Sipahi in Khiva and Bokhara, for an offence given by the Shah to the Khan of the Begdilli, Shahseven, or any other tribe, will cost him the obedience of all its members, and will convert his former subjects into rebels. The Turkish portion of the population of Iran furnishes also the best infantry of the so-called regular army, and, despite the motley crowds constituting one *foudj*, i.e., regiment, where son, father, and grandfather, are to be met with frequently in *one* company—it is generally admitted that the purely Turkish regiments are far more serviceable than those recruited from the Persian inhabitants. The latter are quick, but unsteady, rash in action, but exceedingly inclined to disobedience, easily inflammable, but without perseverance; whilst the Turk has retained many of those qualities by which his western neighbour, namely the Ottoman Turk, has acquired the reputation of the best soldier of the Asiatic world.

As to the Caucasian Turk, we should certainly be wrong to suppose that Russian rule, extending now over more than one hundred years, has had such an influence as to rob those former subjects of Iran of their national peculiarities. As in Persia, so also in Transcaucasia, large numbers are leading still a semi-nomadic life, nay, some of them, such as the *Karapapak* (black cap), between Alexandropol and Kars, as well as the *Terekme*, between Akalzikh and Alexandropol, maintained up to recent times many of those predatory habits, which made their kinsmen on the eastern shores of the Caspian so much dreaded. It is only in the upper classes and with the inhabitants of the towns, where Russian and Armenian elements preponderate, that a slight change has of late become noticeable. Here the contact with the Christian rulers has caused an infraction of the Shiite laws. The Russian has ceased to be looked upon as *nedjis*, i.e., unclean; and, with a view to be fully understood by the *Tchinovnik*, or the *Mirovoi-Sud* (local judge), the Russian language is now eagerly learned. Allured by the splendid

military career of Georgian and Armenian noblemen, the Transcaucasian Turks have gradually adopted the habit of frequenting Russian military schools, and the Alikhanoffs, Tahiroffs, Naziroffs, &c., are on the best way to become worthy rivals to the Lazareffs, Melikoffs, and other Armenians.

There is even a Russian scholar, whose origin can be traced to these Turks. I mean the famous Orientalist, Mirza Alexander Kazem-Beg, noted for his published translation into English of the *Derbend-Nameh*. Considering the very small success Russia's civilising efforts had obtained hitherto with Kazan and Nogai Tartars, with Bushkirs and other Mohammedans, I suppose the Government of St. Petersburg has no particular reason to be dissatisfied with these Transcaucasian Turks. They very rarely revolt against the rapaciousness of Russian civil and military officers, and they peacefully submit to all kinds of vexations, as long as their family and religious life is not touched upon. Cases in which a Transcaucasian Turk would be willing to exchange his situation with a Turk living under the Mohammedan rule of the Kadjars are really of rare occurrence. Russian despotism may be hard and oppressive, but there is a certain amount of system in it, whilst the despotism of the Kadjars is boundless, and marked by arbitrariness and shocking disorder.

In comparing, therefore, the political advantages offered by the Turks to the government of the Shah on the one side and to Russia on the other, we shall find that, whilst the former has got neither the means nor the ability to avail itself fully of the military strength supplied by that portion of the inhabitants of Iran, the latter has well understood and made ample use of the warlike character of her Turkish subjects. Without exaggerating, we may say that, if the Caucasus is the well-chosen base for the future military operations in Central Asia, the Turkish inhabitants on the banks of the Kur and Araxes have greatly facilitated the subjugation of Khiva and of the Turkoman steppes,

There was always a deeply seated hatred and an implacable enmity between the Turks on both shores of the Caspian sea. During the last 500 years the greedy and adventurous Turkoman tribes on the Atrek and the Gorgan, as well as from Mangishlak, have tried, either by a northern or by a southern detour, to penetrate into the Caucasus, and, under the banner of great conquerors, they have succeeded in spreading havoc and devastation in valleys occupied by industrious inhabitants. The turn of events has now brought the day of retaliation. The flood of conquest has quite recently been diverted from the west towards the east, and, as this modern invasion is led by Russia, it is quite natural that the descendants of the Karakoyunlu and Akkoyunlu, renewing the old feud, should be eager to fall upon each other. Whatever may be said to the contrary, it is a fact that Russian officers of Turkish origin had a prominent share in the subjugation of the hardy nomads between the Caspian and the Murghab. Emissaries of the type of Alikhanoff and Tahiroff were certainly able to find an easier access to the minds of the Merv and Pendjeh Serdars, than other Russian officers. The Turkish dialect spoken on the Kur and Araxes is the nearest to that of the Turkomans. Their popular poetry, proverbs and romantic tales are the same, and the Russianised Turk might easily be imagined capable of enticing his wild but simple kinsman to the paths which he had already chosen for himself. In Persia's plans on the Turkoman country the advantage offered by race affinity was rendered void through the want of power, perseverance, and a higher civilisation. Russia, more astute as well as powerful, has reaped the full benefit of this ethnical similarity.

One need not be particularly farseeing in order to perceive the threads by which Russia pursues her policy along the whole northern part of Iran, and enlists in her support the aid of the Turkish population in Transcaucasia. From Khoi to Meshed Russian weights and Russian money

have been long the forerunners of Russian conquest. To this has been added, during the last ten years, the enormous increase of Russian imports in Azerbaijan, Ghilan, Mazendran, and Khorasan; and last, but not least, the prestige Russia has gained through her victories over the Turkomans. When Russia proceeds towards the extension of her frontier beyond the Araxes, a plan which she has long meditated, and which will be matured as soon as railway communication between Transcaucasia and Iran has been established, the Turkish population of Azerbaijan and Khamseh will not show very great reluctance to exchange the supremacy of the Shah-in-shah for that of the White Padishah on the Neva. The ground is being continuously and vigorously undermined. The Russian Propaganda is cleverly spread by pious Turks on their pilgrimages to the holy shrines of Meshed, Kum, and Kerbela, and even the fanatic feeling against the *kafir* will soon be obliterated by the wanton anarchy and disorder of Persian rule.

The chances of the Iranian Turks are irretrievably lost. If the three million Turks, living between the Caucasian range and the shore of the Persian Gulf, were not separated from their brethren in the north-east and in the west by the implacable hatred of Shiite sectarianism, a compact body, composed of a united nation, would be able to offer an effective defence against the most powerful assault. But this wedge of religious animosity has long ago split up the great Turkish ethnical body, extending from South Siberia to the shores of the Adriatic; and, as neither the Ottoman Sultans nor any of the Mohammedan conquerors of Western Asia ever thought to unite the scattered rings of Turkish population in one chain, for the anti-national tendency of Islam never allowed such an idea, the Iranian, or Shiite, fraction of the Turks will, when the fatal hour arrives, fall an easy prey to Russia. Once conquered, they will be made to contribute to the subjugation of their Sunnite brethren in Asia Minor.

EARLY ENGLISH ENTERPRISE IN THE FAR EAST.

THERE is one fact in the political and social condition of England which cannot be explained away, and that strikes at its vitals as a great empire. Its trade, after a long period of unequalled prosperity, shows marked symptoms of stagnation, and no longer develops in proportion to the increase of population. Foreign competition has something to do with this, shortened hours of labour, and the increased time devoted to pleasure by the masses—the two most marked characteristics of the age—have, probably, a great deal more; but, whatever the cause, the fact remains. The consequences of these straitened means will inevitably be popular discontent and national deterioration in wealth and power. The remedy is sought in a change of fiscal policy which may reasonably fill the prudent with apprehension, but the strongest argument as to its advisability would be provided if Mr. John Morley's dislike to acquire new colonies and fresh avenues of commerce were to prove a faithful expression of English opinion. Admitting the stagnation of our trade and the suspended activity of our manufactures, neither of which facts can be denied, it follows that a remedy must be found if our welfare is to be maintained, and if the requirements of a growing population are to be satisfactorily met. It is with the view of setting off the substantial remedy of new possessions and new trade-routes against, in my opinion, the risky and shadowy experiment of a protective commercial policy, that I have prepared the following description of early English enterprise in Japan, China, Siam, and Tonquin. The narrative

will go far to justify the late General Gordon's statement, that England was made by adventurers, and it will carry the reader's mind back to some interesting passages in the early history of our colonial undertakings. It is not impossible that it may be found to contain some matter with which even the specialist has not made himself acquainted :—

The destruction of the Spanish Armada encouraged the spirit of maritime adventure which had revealed itself among Englishmen soon after the accession of Elizabeth, and the sailors who had defended our shores and plundered the treasure fleets of Mexico and Peru turned their energy into the channel of wresting from the Portuguese and Dutch the commercial supremacy which they had established as effectually in the Eastern world as the Spaniards had in the Western. The overthrow of Philip's great expedition ensured the security of our shores, and the tranquillity of the nearer seas. The mariners of Devonshire were then able to devote their attention to undertakings in more remote regions, and to commence that traffic in the spices, jewels, and silks of Asia, which eventually made English commerce supreme in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

In the year 1596, Sir Robert Dudley and others fitted out three vessels with the intention of trading to China, a country which had been known in Europe for some centuries by an overland trade and intercourse as Cathay, or the Empire of the Great Khan. Captain Wood was appointed the commander of this small squadron, and to his hands the Queen entrusted a letter addressed to the Emperor of China. The letter was dated Greenwich, July 16, 1596, and a draft of it is given in so easily accessible a work as Bruce's "*Annals*" (vol. i. p. 110). Although the expedition set out with the best prospects of success, its fate was untoward. Nothing was ever heard of its course and adventures, and not a single man of the three ships' crews returned to tell the tale of its mis-

fortunes. Such was the end of the first English expedition to establish commercial relations with China.

Four years later, a single Englishman succeeded where a goodly company of his fellow-countrymen had failed. For China must, however, be substituted Japan. In 1600, William Adams sailed, as chief pilot, with a Dutch fleet, which arrived safely in Japan, where the Dutch had a factory. He was not unmindful of his nationality, and when he heard that the English meditated extending their trade from Bantam in Java, he wrote a letter promising them a hearty welcome in Japan. The exact incidents of his Japanese career are lost in oblivion, but he seems to have left the Dutch service for that of the Japanese themselves, and was thus able to influence the natives in favour of his countrymen. This was the more useful, as the Portuguese and Jesuits were never tired of representing the English to be only "pirates and rovers upon the sea." In 1613, therefore, Captain Saris was sent in the ship *Clave* to avail himself of William Adams's good offices, and to found an English factory in Japan. In that year the Emperor granted Englishmen permission to trade in his country and to establish a factory at Firando similar to that possessed by the Portuguese. The trade with Japan proved disappointing and all its profits were said to be eaten up by great presents and charges, which the people required, although the government demanded no customs. Even at this early stage of the question we find that the disappointment caused by the intercourse with Japan gave additional zest to the project of establishing trade with China, and in a letter, dated December 10, 1614 and written by Mr. Richard Cock, from Firando, to John Jurdine, a name to become subsequently famous in the annals of China trade, there occurs the following highly interesting paragraph: "Chyna into which country I stand in great hope we shall procure trade, but keepe this to yourselfe untill wee see what it will come unto; for so thay desier which labour in the matter, thay beinge 3 principall Chyna marchants. VI

it take effect the place wee should live at we may goe fro hence to it in 3 or 4 daies. I praye you use all Chinas kindly and will other Englishmen to doe the like for my hope is great. The Chinas doe complaine much of the Hollanders for robinge or pilferinge of their junckes; thay report thay have rifled 7 junckes, which before we came into Japan the Hollanders laid all the fault on the Englishmen, which now is known to the contrary, both in Japan and China; and the good report of the Englishmen more than ever." I have preserved the inconsistencies of spelling.

The disappointment experienced at the small extent of Japanese trade after the founding of the factory at Firando invested all the surrounding countries and islands with special interest in the eyes of adventurers like Captain Adams and Mr. Cock. In 1615, a Mr. Coppindall wrote from this station impressing on his correspondent at Bantam the advisability of having a trade with Siam and of neglecting no opportunity of setting foot in the Moluccas. Trade was also sought for in the Leques, as the Loochoo islands were then called, and in 1617, Captain Adams, who passed much of his time in journeys between Japan and Cochin China, wrote hopefully of the trade with China herself, which it was expected to establish through the instrumentality of some Chinese residents at Nangasaque, the modern Nagasaki. The handful of Englishmen at Firando even wrote to the king of Shashma, which name conceals the twin island, Tsusima, between Japan and Corea.

The foothold obtained by the English in Japan encouraged bolder aspirations in the direction of China. James I. pursuing, but in a sluggish spirit, the same commercial policy as Elizabeth, wrote in 1616 another letter to the Emperor of China. But although it reached the China coast it was never delivered. No Chinese subject dare translate it, as it was death by the laws, and the mere knowledge that such a letter had arrived sufficed to invest with

fresh force the old popular superstition that China would one day be subdued by a grey-eyed people. One Englishman, Mr. George Ball, recommended that the trade should be acquired by force, saying the sooner it was done the better. The boldness of the project will not be disputed when it is remembered that the English at Firando could not have manned more than one ship for the coercion of a vast and populous empire. At this conjuncture the rivalry with the Dutch broke out in open acts of hostility. The Dutch, carrying into practice the maxim of Mr. George Ball, often used force to promote their trade and to procure the means of a prosperous voyage. In these nefarious practices they endeavoured to throw a cloak over their acts by using the name of the English, and the relations of the two nations in the waters of Japan became much embittered. Fuel was added to the flame when, in 1617, three Dutch ships attacked the English vessel called *Sampson and Hound* in Pattania harbour, and in the fight Captain John Jourden, English President of the Indies, lost his life. The incident did not end with the encounter, for three of the prisoners taken made good their escape and took refuge in the English factory at Firando. The Dutch demanded their surrender, but the chief of the factory, Mr. Cock, firmly refused to give up his unfortunate countrymen. The Dutch then went to the Emperor and solicited his interference, but his reply was discouraging, and he refused to employ any force against the English who, he declared, were not slaves. The Dutch seized an English boat in the harbour, and delivered a fierce attack on our factory at Firando; but, thanks to the valiant defence of the English factors and some Japanese, all their efforts were repulsed. The strife went on for some time, and, in 1619, the Dutch captain named Speck was taken prisoner by the Tono or king, and only released after the restoration of the English boat. The Emperor promised to obtain for the English full redress for all their losses, but this seems to have been withheld. At all events, after this period we find the

English in Japan restricted to Firando and Nangasaque (Nagasaki), and of the two the latter began to be preferred.

The factory in Japan was deemed useful on its own account, but its chief value was considered to lie in its convenience to China on the one hand, and to Cochin China on the other. At that time the Japanese were great traders, and their junks sailed as far as Siam and Sumatra. In their traces followed many a courageous English mariner and merchant, anxious to extend the influence and prosperity of the great company in whose name he laboured. Among other places Cochin China received visitors of this character and a factory was established. But it enjoyed only a brief life. In 1614 it was destroyed by the natives. All the goods deposited in it were taken and two servants of the company named Tempest Peacocke and Walter Carwarden lost their lives. The same Mr. Cock who had so valiantly defended Firando against the Dutch wrote five years later that "nothing is to be gotten but fair words and loss of present gain" in Cochin China, the king of which he described as a thief. In Siam, where, however, trade was described as unprofitable, another factory with Mr. Edward King as chief and three members of council was established at a place named Indea, which seems to have been situated on the river a little below the modern Bangkok. In 1623, the factories at both Indea and Firando were given up as unprofitable, and their respective establishments were disbanded.

The treaty of defence with the Dutch in 1620 tended by closing the strife which had been the chief element of trouble among the Europeans to improve the chances of trade in the far East, and about that year renewed confidence began to be felt in the establishment of direct trade with China. It was currently believed that the new Emperor of China—Tienki, the grandson of Wanleh, and the last of the Ming emperors—had given the English permission to send two ships annually to Fockchew (Foochow), but it was also stated that "the war in Tartaria had delayed the

despatch of the passport or goshow." The Manchus were then consolidating their position in the northern province of Leaoutung. Andrea Dittus or Dittis, a Portuguese naval captain, associated with different English and Chinese merchants in Japan, seems to have been the chief source through whom information as to the progress of affairs in China was obtained; and how far his news was trustworthy may well be considered doubtful. Although the Dutch had formed an amicable arrangement with the English, they continued to aim at a monopoly of the China trade, and, by fixing their establishment in the Pescadore group, they possessed superior facilities of communication to their English rivals in Pulo Condore. The murder of an English factor named George Cockayne at Batavia showed also what little security the Treaty of Defence afforded individuals at the chief centre of Dutch supremacy in this quarter of Asia. The Dutch themselves could not overcome the opposition of the Chinese, and the following account of the reception of some of their ships in the Chinchew river (the town of Chinchew being the Zayton of earlier travellers, and the present Tsiuen Chan of Fuhkien) furnishes clear evidence of the reception the early traders met with on the coasts of China. That reception was described in the following letter:—

"Whereupon the Dutch sent two ships and two pinnaces into the river, who were entertained with great compliment, and in the Mandarin's name were desired to come unto him in the next town. To which the Dutch acceding on condition of having three hostages given them, three Chinese with the title of Mandarins were sent on board the Dutch ships. • Whereupon one commander, two merchants, and two others of the Dutch went ashore and were received with great solemnity, and thence were conducted to the next town. At the beginning of the night the Chinese brought a present of victuals aboard the Dutch pinnace, which they found to be poisoned by the extreme vomiting of their people; and after midnight great store of burning

vessels came down the river upon them, so that the pinnace *Maiden*, wherein the Chinese hostages were, was fired, and her powder suddenly taking fire it blew up the ship, whereby 40 Dutch with the Chinese hostages perished. The other pinnace cut her cable and escaped. The ships riding behind an island in the river farther off departed without further hurt. The Dutch that went ashore were kept prisoners."

No information is obtainable as to their fate; but the subsequent silence would support the belief that they were released. The results of this conflict were important, for it was the main cause which induced the Dutch to abandon the Pescadores, and to establish a new factory at Tywan, or Taiwan, on the western coast of the large island of Formosa. In 1625 it was currently believed that the Chinese trade would settle in that port, and, as will be seen later on, this view prevailed for sixty years. The prevalent belief in the importance of that trade is shown in a characteristic report of the time on the articles of which the Chinese stood most in need, and in this document it is stated that "the need of those mighty monarchies Japan and China is clothings answerable to the magnificence of those nations, defensible against the cold, and convenient for their employment in travel, war and weather." But, perhaps, the most notable sentence in the whole of the report is the bold and confident assertion that England *alone* can supply these articles. In those days "size" was unknown.

The Dutch expedition to the Chinchew river had its counterpart in the English expedition under Captain Weddell, of Courteen's Association, to the Canton river in 1637. The captain's narrative is well worth republication in the form in which it was written, and on a future occasion we may be in a position to publish it. On the present occasion we need only observe that, while it was satisfactory in a nautical sense as marking the discovery of the mouth of the Canton river, and as showing

its navigability, its commercial results were highly unsatisfactory. The Portuguese at Macao resolutely opposed all propositions to allow the English to share in the trade for which they paid heavily, and the Chinese manifested an unfriendly feeling. Notwithstanding the injury to trade attending any recourse to arms, Captain Weddell was compelled to defend himself against the Chinese, and to impress their naval commanders with a sense of the naval superiority of English sailors. The experience of Captain Weddell discouraged those who had been most sanguine of the prospects of the China trade, and the disturbed state of the country through the struggle for power between the Chinese and Manchus rendered the outlook extremely unpromising. The situation in 1645 was summed up in the sentence, "China is wholly embroiled in wars," and it was said that any attempt to trade in its present state would surely incur the loss of the ship. The civil war in England exercised an injurious influence on the efforts of the English in the East, and it was not until Oliver Cromwell's authority was firmly established that any renewed attempt was made to effect an entrance into the country.

By this time the Manchus had gained possession of the greater part of China, and, through the efforts of the Chinese Viceroy, Wou Sankwei, the Tartar Emperor, Chuntche, might be regarded as supreme in all parts of the empire except at Canton and the ports of Foochow and Amoy. In 1658 two English ships, the *King Ferdinand* and the *Richard and Martha*, arrived at Canton, but their visit was fraught with evil consequences, for the exactions of the mandarins compelled them to slip their cables and run away without paying any measurage or ship's dues. The injury thus inflicted upon English trade was very considerable, and the Portuguese were not slow to lay great stress on the bad faith of the English. It is curious to note that even at this early period of our intercourse a marked distinction was drawn between the Chinese and the Manchus. The hopes of the English merchants centred in the native Chinese

government. From the Tartars they expected nothing but strenuous opposition to commerce, and heavy exactions when permitted.

At this point a new turn was given to the question. The Mings had been vanquished in every battle and, practically speaking, the members of their dynasty had been exterminated. The remaining leaders of the national cause, among whom Koshinga was prominent, quitted the mainland, and resolved to establish their headquarters on some of the islands adjacent to the coast. In 1662 Koshinga landed on the island of Formosa, attacked the Dutch in their settlement, captured Fort Zealand, and founded what was known for twenty years as the kingdom of Taiwan. All the efforts of the Dutch to recover what they had lost were baffled, and Koshinga made many descents upon the opposite mainland before his confederacy was finally broken up, in his son's time, by the great Emperor Kanghi. At first the English do not seem to have realised that the misfortune of the Dutch provided them with an opportunity, for their attention had been turned more to Siam than to Formosa. The factory in Siam, despite the opposition of the Dutch, was resettled by Mr. John South in 1661, and his opinion was confidently expressed that he gave Siam the preference over any place in India. He dwelt forcibly on its mineral resources, including tin and copper.

The third attempt to establish trade with Canton was made in the year 1664, when the *Surat* frigate was fitted out, with great expense, and sent to Macao. The commander of the ship was named Robert Groste, and the factors on board were Francis Farrer, Robert Hopper and Francis Fletcher. On this occasion the Portuguese were more obstructive than the Chinese had been before. They demanded a city's duty of 6 per cent., and they claimed measurage for the two ships already named as having run away six years before. It would take too much space to relate the numerous other difficulties thrown in their way. When they rented a house in Macao for the storage of

their goods, they were left only a little time in peace. A guard was put upon them, and, after submitting to many exactions they were glad to be allowed to depart in safety without having disposed of their cargo. The Portuguese refused to entertain any proposal for the establishment of an English factory at Macao, and once more the prospects of a trade with China appeared as black as they could be. The Tartars were denounced as the enemies of trade, and the Portuguese commanded the best avenue of approach to the people themselves and would tolerate no rivals.

Failure at Macao excited fresh anxiety to succeed elsewhere, and the idea was revived of creating a trade with Japan. Instructions were sent to Bantam, the chief English factory beyond India, from London, in 1664, to take steps in this direction, and it is curious to learn that at that time no one at Bantam knew of the past existence of a factory at Firando, or of there having been a trade once with that place and Nangasaque. Several vessels were sent for this purpose, but the result seems to have been nil, and we are informed that even the Portuguese could only carry on their trade by stealth on account of the Tartars. A brighter prospect alone presented itself at Taiwan, where Koshinga, or Coxin, offered the English more encouragement than any other foreigners, and gave his consent to their founding a factory near his capital. His resentment against the Dutch remained very keen to the end of his career, and about this time he expressed his intention to attack Manilla in revenge for certain injuries inflicted on his fellow countrymen. So much encouraged were the English by his friendly attitude that they sent three fresh ships in 1671 to Taiwan. These were the *Experiment*, the *Return*, and the *Zant*; but Koshinga's motives in encouraging the trade were soon made plain in his demands for guns and ammunition. Still the English merchants accepted all his propositions in the hope that he might open the door for them into China; for he was then engaged in extensive military and naval preparations for the invasion of that

country, and his first operations had been marked with no inconsiderable success.

Formosa was not the only scene of our activity. In 1671 two ships, the *Bantam Merchant* and the *Crown*, were dispatched to Nagasaki, with a Captain Partree to act as admiral, and presents were sent to the king, which were to be delivered "with respect and modesty." But of all the places selected for the centre of a trade there was none where greater energy was shown than in Tonquin, or Tonqueene, as it was then spelt. In 1672 a new council was appointed in this country for the "better establishing of trade and commerce." Mr. W. Gyfford was named first factor, and reached the mouth of the Tonquin river (Songcoi) in the *Zant* frigate, on the 25th of June. The danger of the bar was successfully overcome, only to be followed by much more serious difficulties at the hands of the mandarins, who demanded and took all the presents they could procure. Mr. Gyfford went up the river to the chief, or grand city, which he calls Catjaw, but which is evidently Kesho, or the modern Hanoi. Seeing that the nearer he got to the king's court the more did the claims of the officials increase, Mr. Gyfford expressed a wish to be allowed to take his departure, but even this satisfaction was denied him. "No," they said, "you have come and you must stay," and, as further consolation, they compared his state to that of a married woman, who can blame no one but herself for her bondage.

Failing to obtain leave to take his departure, Mr. Gyfford endeavoured to make the best of his situation, and even delivered his goods to the mandarins for the purpose of sale. The conditions under which trade had to be carried on in Tonquin may be inferred from the fact that the people were such bold thieves that they used to prick the bags on the coolies' backs so that the pepper ran out. It need scarcely be added that commerce under such circumstances could not be very remunerative. In fact, the experience of our merchants on the Songcoi showed that

money was the chief, if not the sole, article of profitable trade. The lead imported by the English was only allowed to be sold at one-fourth the cost and charges, and the avarice of the mandarins aggravated the difficulties of the intercourse. Large presents had to be made to all the ministers, and even the king's aunt had to be propitiated with four bottles of rose water. A curious contemporary reference to the French house in Tonquin ends by declaring that it was intended "more for religion than trade." The conclusion forced upon the minds of those who conducted the enterprise to Tonquin was that no good could result until trade had been re-established with Japan.

About the year 1672 there was a fresh manifestation of interest in the revival of intercourse with Japan, but the war of Charles II. with the Dutch entailed some disasters to the East India Company in the waters of the far East, where the naval strength of Holland was very considerable. Prominent among these was the capture of several English merchantmen, including the *Experiment*, off the coast of Siam, where a favourable reception had been granted them, as well as a *tarra*, or royal order, to found a factory. Peace, however, was soon concluded between the two nations, and then the Siamese factory must have been started, for in 1673 Mr. Nicholas Waite wrote from the company's house in the city of Siam asking for goods from Surat. About this time the first specific mention is made by name of *Bancock*, the modern Bangkok. The attempts to obtain access into Japan—the main object—were not very successful, although some satisfaction was derived from the Dutch sharing in the evil effects accruing from the obstructive policy of the Japanese. The Dutch seem to have been hindered in their proceedings chiefly on account of their parsimony, for the governor of Nagasaki declared their presents to be so small that they ought to be ashamed of them. Each time the English visited Japan the trade of China seemed nearer to their hand, and they acquired more precise

information as to the commercial capabilities of that country at Nagasaki than at either Macao or Lampeco, both of which places they sought to use as entrepôts. The opposition of the Portuguese at the former, and the inconvenience of the latter, baffled these schemes, but by this time our merchants had at least learnt that "China makes as fine serge as any in England."

Repulsed in Japan the English merchants turned with greater energy to Formosa, where they seemed to possess in the favour of Koshinga, King of Taiwan, an advantage over all European rivals which at that time they did not enjoy anywhere else in Asia. The position of Taiwan itself was not altogether favourable as a place of anchorage, for the harbour was described as insecure in one part for the South Monsoon, and in the other for the North Monsoon; but the most sanguine hopes were indulged, in the event of Koshinga's success in China, for he had promised to grant the site of a factory on the mainland, and many trade privileges. For a time it seemed as if Koshinga would be as good as his word. On taking Amoy, or Emoy, he proclaimed the exemption of English goods from any duty for three years, as much in gratitude for aid in arms and advice towards accomplishing his enterprise, as from any excessive sympathy with foreign commerce. But his financial necessities soon compelled him to alter his plans, and the duty was immediately reimposed. In consequence of this the English refused to give any assistance in the siege of Chochusea, and that affair was so badly conducted that from it dates the turn in Koshinga's fortunes. They were, however, induced to lend a few gunners for two months. At this time there was a rumour that Koshinga would not be unwilling to transfer Formosa to the company, and the Court in England passed a vote accepting the offer, should it be made. Several fresh arrangements were concluded with Koshinga: a house and grounds were rented at 500 rupees per annum; special ships, one having the name of the *Formosa*, were sent to

Taiwan, and in 1676 a small vessel was sent to Amoy to find "a vent for English manufactures."

We may now describe the further course of trade in Tonquin and Siam before reviewing the final efforts made under the protection of Koshinga to gain admittance to China. Notwithstanding Mr. Gyfford's experience in Tonquin the factory was kept on. Mr. Gyfford was removed, if not dismissed, and Mr. Benjamin Sanger was appointed his successor. That there was very little chance of an improvement may be inferred from the report that the market was glutted, and that the English were accused of hiding their goods. Moreover the position of Englishmen in that country was extremely irksome, being "reckoned among the third sort of strangers." The Bantam council decided to quit Tonquin, but the arrival of several ships from Europe specially freighted for the Tonquin market prevented the immediate execution of this decision. On the departure of the factory they "sombaied" to the king and prince who, we are told, used English cloth chiefly "to make caps for their soldiers." After the factory was withdrawn the *Flying Eagle* ship visited the coast at the end of 1676, but its commander, John Thomas, and six seamen were drowned while sounding the bar in a small boat. The English factors endeavoured to take advantage of the coasting trade between Siam and Tonquin, but any hopes in this direction were dispelled by its smallness, as only one junk carrying betel nut and silver was sent annually from Siam. The massacre at Bantam in 1677 interfered greatly with the trade in Tonquin, which continued during 1678 and 1679 in a more or less fitful manner. In 1682 it was emphatically declared that the war in Yarn (evidently alluding to the struggle in Yunnan between Kanghi's generals and Wou Sankwei), between the shorn Chinamen and the long-haired Chinamen would have a bad effect on Tonquin trade. Tonquin was declared to be then as much tributary to the Tartars as it had been to the Chinese. That

Tonquin was not far removed from the scene of the contest may be judged from frequent references to fugitive Chinese junks in Tonquin waters.

About this time there was a renewal of French activity in Tonquin. It was one of the projects of the *Grand Monarque* to promote trade with that country. He accordingly sent an elaborate embassy with presents valued at £2,000, but the visit was unfortunately timed. The king died at the moment of its arrival, and the envoy had to return empty handed, and without being received in audience. All the English influence to encourage the Siamese to trade with Tonquin bore little fruit, and at length, the attitude of the Tonquinese being so opposed to trade, it was decided to abandon the country. The last chief of the factory, Mr. Keeling, was severely censured, but with the definite closing of the Tonquin factory, a waning interest may be perceived in this quarter. The mission of Thomas Bowyear a few years later, upon which, as being so much better known, I say nothing here, finally dispelled all illusions as to the extent or importance of a trade in the valley of the Songcoi. It is only in our own time that interest has been awakened in the question, and that chiefly by the action of the French, who two centuries ago were described as thinking more of religion than of trade.

The alternative scheme of trade with Japan falling through on account of the opposition of the authorities of Nagasaki, although the English council had come to the conclusion to accept a cheaper rate and smaller profits if it would increase trade as Japan alone would provide a vent for all English and especially woollen manufactures, greater energy and attention were devoted than before to securing under the flag of Koshinga the markets of China. But by this time the success of that adventurous leader had become chequered with disaster. His attempts to extend his authority were baffled, and his own poverty of resources added to the discouragement of the Chinese people greatly simplified the task of the Manchus. Koshinga's power on

the mainland was limited to Amoy, but the possession of that town provided the means, it was hoped, of sending British goods into the interior of the country, and of receiving in return the tea and silk for which China was already famous. Amoy was expected to prove the door of China, and for that reason, so long as Koshinga's forces held it, there seemed some reason to anticipate that the sanguine expectations of the English might be realised.

While some remonstrances were made to Punhee, Koshinga's prime minister, against the extortions of the king, the factory at Taiwan was placed on a reduced scale, and that at Amoy was raised to a position of transcendent importance. A Mr. Benjamin Delaune was appointed chief of the factory, and Taiwan was, in September, 1678, declared subordinate to it. The clandestine trade between China and Formosa, which had been encouraged, was dropped, and in order to flatter Koshinga and cement the alliance with him, he was always styled King of Formosa and Foquien (*i.e.* the province of Fuhkien). The value of Amoy in the estimation of these enterprising Englishmen did not blind them to the greater importance of Canton, and the fact that this place was held by a force of Chinese encouraged the opinion that some success might attend the effort to secure the right to trade there. The best reason for holding this belief was that the Chinese were a struggling minority, who would not be likely to reject any aid that might be proffered them. These views were encouraged by the request stated to have been sent by the Viceroy of Canton for a company's ship to visit his city. Before any steps could be taken to carry out this project, the Chinese power had been shattered, and Canton passed again and finally into the hands of the Manchus.

Koshinga's want of money reduced him to great straits, and seriously embarrassed all trading operations. The Taiwan factory was finally given up in 1680, although the Tartars were known to be making every preparation to recover Amoy, and the uncertainty of Koshinga's hold

upon that place was sufficiently obvious. The very next year, in fact, the Tartars attacked and took Amoy, and Koshinga's remaining followers were compelled to flee to Formosa. The only tangible acquisition of the English was a Chinaman skilled in lacquer work to proceed to Europe, but it is not quite certain that he ever consented to leave Amoy. The fall of Amoy compelled the English to alter their plans, and to look about them for a new settlement as it was highly improbable that the Manchus would consent to continue the arrangements of their enemy Koshinga. Under these altered circumstances their chief hope was to obtain admission to Canton; but, failing that, they wished to obtain a settlement on either Lampeco, or one of the Pescadores.

In 1682, owing to the capture of Bantam by the Dutch, the control of the China trade was transferred from that place to Bombay and Surat, but the opinion continued to prevail that a factory at Canton was to be desired above all things. In the same year the ship called the *China Merchant* was sent, with a Mr. Gosfright on board, as chief factor, to Macao, with the intention of making his way to Canton, and there representing "the peaceable conduct of the English," as compared with the Dutch. But the Portuguese were able to baffle all these attempts, and their task was facilitated by the prevailing opinion among the Tartars that the English had helped Koshinga and the native Chinese. The Portuguese war-ships openly hindered the English merchantmen, and the Tartar junks attacked, or captured the native boats that held any communication with our vessels. The attempt to carry on a trade in the estuary of the Canton river, which proved fruitless at Macao was not more fortunate when renewed at Lamptan and Tempa Kebreila. Lead, which seems to have formed the chief item in the ships' cargoes, was pronounced to be a drug in the market, through the opening of the mines in China; and the Canton trade was declared to be valueless, unless a factory were allowed to be established. Before

that wish was obtained the East India Company had to wait 160 years, but it showed remarkable foresight that they should have selected at this early stage of their proceedings the best site for a factory.

Meantime, the fate of Taiwan had been decided. Koshinga died soon after the fall of Amoy, and was spared the final pain of witnessing the overthrow of his confederacy and the triumph of the Manchus. The English merchants, enraged at their pecuniary losses, and at the disappearance of all their hopes with regard to the opening of China, did not spare the son, who succeeded to his authority under the name of Simponan or Ching, from the denunciation which their loss and disappointment seemed to justify. They were instructed by their superiors to use some forcible means to get recovery of the debt from the King, and, "according to the lawes and customes of all nations endeavour to right ourselves upon the shippes and goods of any of your Majestie's subjects that wee shall meet with." By this time, however, the King of Formosa had lost all his goods and ships; and the English merchants had to take their departure empty handed.

In 1683 the Manchu arrangements for attacking Taiwan were completed, and a Tartar general named Sego was appointed to the command. Sego's colleague, Pooe, commanded the fleet, and began the operations with a successful attack on Pehou, or Ponghou, in the Pescadores. After this achievement, the Manchus had little difficulty in establishing their power at Taiwan, for the Chinese lost heart and gave in their submission. Simponan was made a Chinese duke, or kung, and a large number of the Chinese fugitives were carried back to the mainland. A Tartar garrison was installed, and Sego appointed a Chinaman named Gimea his agent for collecting the revenue. Two English merchants, Messrs. Angier and Lloyd, were at Taiwan during this period, and although the former died at Amoy, the latter remained at Taiwan to endeavour to come to terms with its new masters.

The first act of the Manchus was to call upon him to render a full account of his possessions as the enemy of the Tartars. In this dilemma, the only loophole of escape that offered itself was to bribe the authorities, and Sego was given and accepted a present of 3,090 taels. By this means Mr. Lloyd saved the lives of himself and his companions; but when they were called upon to present a humble petition to be allowed to trade, they had the courage to refuse, and to declare that their only desire was the permission to depart. This was not granted, and during Sego's absence the English were oppressed and subjected to various indignities. None of these seemed to weigh so much upon their minds as the attempt to make peddlers of them by requiring them to sell their goods in small quantities! After this final indignity the English were glad to take the first opportunity of departure, and to abandon the dreams which had been associated with the name of Taiwan.

The establishment of Manchu authority in China, which may be regarded as completed by the conquest of Formosa and the overthrow of Wou Sankwei in Yunnan, brings to an appropriate close the efforts made by the early English traders and navigators to gain an entrance into that country during the first eighty years of the 17th century. On another occasion I may, should the subject be deemed interesting, return to the question in order to describe the subsequent efforts made in the same direction. In estimating the importance of our present interests in the far East, it is well to recall the length of time during which fruitless efforts were made to grasp this prize, and perhaps the story of early English enterprise may contribute to make people think more of it now that it has been won. Of one thing there can be no doubt. Only the qualities evinced by these early traders will enable English merchants to hold their own against their numerous and constantly increasing rivals.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

THE CHILDHOOD OF AKBAR.

DARK and full of peril was the day when Humayun, eldest son of the illustrious Baber, succeeded to the fairest portion of the empire which his father had founded. Four years and seven months after Baber had been proclaimed emperor at Agra, nearly five after he had gained his decisive victory at Panipat, death removed him from the scene of his splendid triumphs. He left four sons, Humayun, Kamran, Askeri, and Hindal. Humayun, brave but flighty, loving pleasure, a charming companion but a bad leader, bearing up nobly against adversity, generous, large hearted, but yet deficient in decision and in the qualities necessary to ensure obedience. Kamran, as brave, but full of ambition, of duplicity, and of cunning. Askeri, arrogant, ambitious, selfish, and treacherous. Hindal, weaker than Humayun, possessing few of the good qualities which redeemed that brother's faults, and unstable as water. The three younger of these sons, and their cousin Sulaiman, a man of considerable ability, were each governing, when Baber died, important provinces. Kamran ruled in Kabul; Sulaiman was supreme in Badakhshan; Askeri in the province of Sambhal; and Hindal in Mewat. Possessing a nominal authority over his brothers, Humayun ruled over the districts known in our time as the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab. He claimed, likewise, to possess Bihar, but that province and Bengal were in the actual possession of the turbulent Afghan nobles whom his father had driven from Northern India.

Dark and full of peril was for him the outlook. His first act was to confirm his three brothers and his cousin in their respective governments. The first thought of each of

the brothers, not, perhaps, of the cousin, was to see how the ground could be cleared to secure for himself the empire. The Afghans in Bihar, headed by a nobleman of conspicuous ability, Sher Khan by name, pondered how best they might recover the empire which Baber had wrested from them. The death of that great sovereign had, also, roused the ambition of Bahadur Shah, king of Gujrat. Each of these chieftains began, in his own manner, to work for one object. For the moment Humayun was the common enemy of all, for each coveted for himself the full inheritance of Baber.

The first to move was Kamran. Knowing that his brother's attention would be absorbed by complications nearer to his seat of government at Agra, Kamran crossed the Indus, and seized the whole of the Panjab (1531). Humayun, occupied in Bandelkhand, anxious by concession to obtain his brother's support against the enemies of the dynasty, yielded to Kamran the province he had conquered. Scarcely had he thus renounced the Panjab than he was called to repel an invasion of the Afghans of Bihar into the districts of Jaunpur and Azamgarh. He met and defeated these at Daura, then returned to Agra, to make preparations for the siege of Chunar, one of the strongest fortresses in India, held by the Sher Khan I have referred to. Humayun appeared before Chunar early in 1532, and sat four months before it, making from time to time fruitless efforts to induce Sher Khan to surrender. He was still before it when information reached him that the king of Gujrat was making rapid progress in Malwa and Nagor. To crush this new enemy, Humayun patched up a hurried treaty with Sher Khan, and returned to Agra. Dehuded there into a false repose by the assurances made him by ambassadors sent by Bahadur Shah, he gave himself up to pleasure and to speculations in astrology, of which he was passionately fond. He was roused from his dreams by a message from the Rana of Chittor, the famous fortress in Mewar, to the effect that unless he re-

ceived prompt succour, he would be forced to surrender to the army of the king of Gujrat. Humayun at once advanced to his assistance, but before he could reach Chittor the incursions of the Afghans of Bihar had assumed proportions so serious that he left the Rana to his fate, and retraced his steps.

In 1534 matters in Central and Western India had assumed a very serious aspect. Bahadur Shah had received the accession of the representatives and adherents of the dynasty of Lodi, and of other noblemen who conceived they had cause of complaint against Humayun. The alliance became so formidable that Humayun, joined by his brothers, Askeri and Hindal, moved from Agra to crush it. Fortunately for him, Bahadur Shah had divided his forces, allowing his allies to approach Agra, whilst he kept his own troops in reserve. Humayun was thus able to encounter his enemies in detail. He first met and defeated the Afghan allies of Bahadur Shah, at Mandrela, sixty-two miles west from Gwalior, and then, pushing forward, invaded Malwa. His arrival on the Betwa alarmed Bahadur Shah, once more engaged in besieging Chittor. That prince had the wisdom, however, not to renounce a task which had almost been accomplished. On March 8, 1535, he assaulted and stormed Chittor, then, marching against Humayun, who had hurried northward on learning of the fall of Chittor, he came in sight of him a few days later, encamped on the banks of a large tank near Mandisur, a town situated on a tributary of the Chambal, eighty miles from Ujjen.

Bahadur Shah was strongly urged by his best generals to attack the emperor whilst his troops were still under the influence of their success at Chittor. But, possessing a powerful artillery, worked by men who had learned their trade at Constantinople, the king of Gujrat preferred to intrench himself and await in his intrenched camp an attack which was never made. For Humayun, well advised, contented himself with scouring the country with

his cavalry and cutting off the supplies. The inevitable consequence soon followed. On the night of April 24, Bahadur Shah, having crammed his guns with powder so that they might burst, stole away from his camp in one direction, whilst 20,000 of his men escaped in another. Humayun attacked and plundered the half-deserted camp, and pursued the defeated army to the very gates of Mandu, the famous capital of Malwa. He then took that fortress, whilst Bahadur Shah, who had found his way thither, escaped to Gujrat. Humayun, following up his advantage, pursued the fleeing king, captured Kambhayat (Cambay) and Champanir, then, for a time gave himself up to pleasure, whilst his ministers were engaged in devising measures for the administration of the conquered kingdom. Roused from these pursuits by the information that the Afghans were successfully asserting their supremacy in Jaunpur, and that his long absence from Agra was weakening his influence, Humayun returned to Mandu, hoping to be able to make a prolonged stay in that central position.

But the ambition of his younger brothers had only slept. They were but awaiting their opportunity. The evacuation of Gujrat was the signal for the return to that country of Bahadur Shah and for the prompt march of that king against Ahmedabad, then held by Prince Askeri.

This action again was the signal for the disaffection of Askeri. A plot was formed by that prince and his associates to march with 20,000 men on Agra, to assume there the ensigns of royalty. Askeri retreated from Ahmedabad before the army of Bahadur Shah, and, after making an attempt on Champanir, which failed, hurried towards the capital. An accident alone prevented the complete carrying out of his plan. Marching through the Chittor territory, he came suddenly upon the army of Humayun, more numerous than his own. The only course open to him was to feign submission. Humayun, always generous, accepted his excuses, and the two armies fell back together on Agra. The precipitate retreat of Askeri

had, however, allowed Bahadur Shah to recover all Gujrat. Prince Hindal had been left at Agra. There he had not only maintained his authority, but had retaken Kanauj, which had been captured by Muhammad Sultan Mirza, at one time a pretender to the Imperial throne, but who had been latterly content to establish a principality in Audh, of which he had made Belgram, a town seventy-five miles to the north-west from Lakhnao, the capital. Not satisfied with that, Hindal had marched on and taken Belgram. He then pursued his way to Jaunpur. From that place he proceeded to Agra to meet his brother. Up to this he had been loyal.

In the north-west Kamran had been engaged in strengthening his position. Determined, if possible, to secure India for himself, he was concerned especially to bar it from invasion from the countries whence his family had sprung. With this aim in view, he had bent all his energies to the defence and recapture of Kandahar. That place had been besieged by Sam Mirza in 1535, but relieved the same year by Kamran. Two years later, however, Shah Tahmasp succeeded in taking it. Thoroughly roused, Kamran marched in 1538 to recover it, and, after a siege which lasted many months, succeeded.

That very year, and the year which immediately followed, were crucial years in the life of Humayun. The long-cherished plans of the nobles of Afghan descent, of whom Sher Khan Sur was the inspiring genius, came to a head in 1538. We have seen how, in 1532, that chieftain had made a nominal submission to Humayun to secure his retreat from before Chunar. The years which followed, spent, as we have seen, by Humayun mainly in Central and Western India, were well employed by Sher Khan. In 1535 he conquered Eastern Bihar. Two years later he invaded Bengal. He was engaged in securing his conquests in that province when Humayun returned to Agra from his long campaign in Gujrat.

It was not instinct alone which indicated Sher Khan Sur to Humayun as his most formidable enemy. The

news of the progress of that chief had not been without effect in influencing his return from Western India. Having returned, he resolved to crush the germ before it should be still further developed. He marched in the beginning of 1538 against Chunar, took it after a siege of six months, and then occupied Benares. At Benares he learned that Sher Khan was still in Bengal, engaged in besieging Gaur, the splendid capital, whose ruins are now frequently tenanted by tigers. At once he transmitted to his enemy a summons to submit. Sher Khan refused. Humayun marched against him, and, notwithstanding some initial losses, expelled him from Bengal. A few months of severe application, and he would have fully established his power. But at Gaur again, as in Western India, the careless monarch gave himself up to pleasure. "Without thought of the past, with little care about the future," he did nothing to ameliorate the condition of the people, or to secure his new conquest. Gaur was his Capua.

Suddenly a succession of troubles roused him from his false security. First, Sher Khan seized, by the treachery of its Rajah, the strong fortress of Rhotas: then, gathering adherents, he re-occupied Bihar, and the passes, and laid siege to Jaunpur and Chunar. Simultaneously with this information came the news that Prince Hindal had revolted and proclaimed himself emperor at Agra. For Humayun, the careless lighthearted Humayun, the situation was full of danger; for the passes which separate Bengal from Bihar, were held by Sher Khan.

Prince Askeri was still with Humayun. His fidelity and the fidelity of the chiefs serving under him were secured by presents and largesses, and they and their troops pushed through the passes and reached Khalgaon (Colgong) on the Ganges. There Askeri learned that Sher Khan had proclaimed himself king. Humayun, to whom this information had been transmitted, advanced then to Munger (Monghyr), and, with Askeri, crossed to the right bank of the river, and marched along that bank past Patna, as far as

Moner, near the confluence of the river Son with the Ganges. Humayun crossed the Son, and, pushing forward, reached, on the fourth day, Chausa, at the confluence of the Karmnasa and the Ganges. As he arrived there about nine o'clock in the morning, clouds of dust in the distance announced the approach of the army of Sher Khan. The emperor's army was fresh, that of his enemy had been marching all night. An immediate attack, therefore, was counselled. Humayun was inclined to concur, but was induced by a favourite beg, or lord, to defer it till the morrow. The delay was fatal. Sher Khan, who occupied the road by which the emperor must pass, began to throw up intrenchments. Day followed day, and still the attack was delayed. At last, after a delay of two months, most prejudicial to the *morale* of the emperor's army, Humayun, who had written pressing letters, begging for aid, to his brothers Hîndal and Kamran, entered into negotiations with Sher Khan. The terms of agreement were easily arrived at. Already the soldiers of the two armies met daily in friendly converse, when suddenly Sher Khan, noticing the too great confidence of Humayun, took advantage of the want of vigilance therefrom resulting to surprise his camp in the dead of night. So complete was the surprise that Humayun, wounded in the arm by an arrow, escaped only by urging his horse into the river. He lost his seat in the plunge, and would have been drowned, had not a water-carrier pushed to him his inflated goatskin. Holding this, Humayun was towed by the water-carrier to the opposite bank.* Meanwhile his camp was stormed, his

* The reward bestowed upon the water-carrier, whose name was Nizam, will remind the reader of an incident recorded in the "Arabian Nights." Humayun, when he had been towed safely to the opposite bank of the river, had promised the water-carrier that he would "place him on his throne." Holding court a short time afterwards at Agra, he beheld the water-carrier approaching. Mindful of his vow, he descended, and placed his preserver on the throne for the remainder of the day. Whatever orders the water-carrier issued were obeyed, and the shrewd fellow seized the opportunity of placing his family and his friends in positions which secured them against want for the remainder of their days.

harem was captured, and his army destroyed or dispersed. Accompanied by his brother Askeri, the emperor rode by way of Kalpi to Agra. That he was able to reach that place in safety was due entirely to the loyalty of a Rajput chief, who baffled the hot pursuit of the victors.

The surprise of Chausa gave Bengal and Bihar to Sher Khan. Determined to press his victory to the utmost, that chieftain advanced towards Agra. In that Imperial city were the four royal brothers—Humayun, the titular emperor; Kamran, who had marched down from the Sutlaj; Askeri, who had shared the misfortune of Chausa; and Hindal, who had made his submission. But each of the brothers was still working for his own hand. Humayun, indeed, wished for union—a union which would be sufficient to annihilate Sher Khan. On the other hand, Kamran, able to afford an assistance which would have produced that end, saw, or thought he saw, in the overthrow of Humayun, the first step to his own advancement and resolved therefore to return to his own government. Making sickness his excuse, he set out in March, 1539. Askeri and Hindal were for the moment simple waiters upon Providence. Left to himself, Humayun was so cheered by the success obtained by his generals over the advanced guard of Sher Khan's army, that he quitted Agra in the beginning of April, for the valley of the Ganges, and marched to Kanauj. Sher Khan reached a point opposite to him by the other bank, and for upwards of a month the two armies, both intrenched, watched each other. At length the rains fell, and a movement became imperative. Humayun then crossed the river and again intrenched himself. But the position was badly chosen, and Humayun was compelled to march to a higher ground by a road which, to a certain extent, gave his flank to the enemy. Sher Khan noted the advantage, attacked the emperor whilst he was in movement, and completely defeated him. No victory was ever more decisive than that of Kanauj. Again did the emperor owe his life to friendly aid. This time that aid was afforded

by Shamsuddin Muhammad of Ghazni, afterwards the foster-father of the illustrious Akbar.

Humayun fled to Agra. Finding that the place could not be defended against the enemy, he stayed there but one day, and continued his flight through the Panjab. Realising at last his helpless position, Humayun made a dash for Kashmir, but again Kamran forestalled him. Baffled in this attempt, he then made for Gul-Baluch, near the Indus. At the end of January, 1541, he reached the town of Rohri on the left bank of that river. Thus by December, 1540, the dissensions and jealousies of the sons of Baber had destroyed the work of the founder of the Mongol dynasty.

At Rohri the first necessity was to procure food. It was not an easy task, for not only were the deserts of Sindh sandy, but such cultivation as there was in the vicinity had been destroyed. Sindh was ruled at the time by Shah Husen Mirza, a man of penetration and sense, who had realised all the possible disadvantage of giving refuge to fugitive princes. On hearing of the approach of the two sons of Baber, he placed Upper Sindh under the charge of Mahmud Khan, an officer in whom he had confidence, with instructions to do all in his power to add to the discomfort of Humayun so long as the latter should remain in Sindh. Carrying out these orders Mahmud Khan had laid waste all the country about Rohri. In the same spirit, when Humayun in his despair summoned Mahmud Khan to surrender to him, as his suzerain, the fort of Bakkhar, that officer politely declined. To secure the fugitive monarch and his scanty following from absolute starvation Mahmud Khan transmitted to him, however, grain and other supplies from the fort. Humayun revenged himself by immediately laying siege to Bakkhar. His following had been, in the interval, largely increased by fugitives from Hindustan, who had refused to bow their neck to the Afghan.

Whilst his adherents were engaged in the blockade of Bakkhar, Humayun made the journey which brought

about the most important event of his life, his marriage with the lady who was the mother of Akbar. Hindal had marched, in the early days of 1541, from Rohri with the intention of occupying the province of Sehwan or Sevistan. With him were his mother, Dildar Begum, and her ladies. A rumour had reached Humayun that his brother contemplated quitting Sindh to make a raid on his own account against Kandahar. To ascertain the truth regarding the rumour the emperor journeyed to Patur under the nominal pretext of paying his respects to Dildar Begum. Hindal received him with the honours due to the emperor, and, the evening of the day on which he arrived, gave an entertainment to which all the ladies of the court were invited. Amongst these was Hamida, daughter of Shekh Ali Akbar Jami, Hindal's preceptor, a man held in honour by reason of his descent from a celebrated saint. Humayun was fascinated by the bright face, beaming with intelligence, of the young girl, and, finding that though promised to another, she had not been actually betrothed, declared that he would marry her. This declaration mortally offended Hindal, and drew from him the remark that he had supposed Humayun had come to Patur to pay his respects to his mother and not to look for a young wife; that if he persisted in his resolution he would quit his service. For the moment Dildar Begum was not able to pacify the two brothers, and Humayun left the palace in high dudgeon. Night, however, brought better counsels. In the morning a reconciliation took place; Humayun returned to the palace, and was then and there married. A few days later, he returned with his bride to the camp before Bakkhar. Hindal, who had all along meditated treason, took advantage of his brother's absence to march with all his following towards Kandahar.

Hindal's departure was felt keenly by Humayun. After much deliberation he left a portion of his army to maintain the blockade of Bakkhar, and, with the remainder, entered the province of Sehwan, and laid siege to its capital, a town of the same name. Whilst engaged in this siege he was

terribly harassed by Shah Husen, who, encamping near him with an army, cut off his supplies. Misfortune then followed misfortune. The general whom he had left to command the blockading force before Bakkhar made terms with Shah Husen. Humayun was forced to retreat from Sehwan, with the loss of all his baggage. The retreat was most disorderly. When Humayun reached Rohri no boats were to be found; and, before he could cause rafts to be constructed, Shah Husen and his army were within four miles of him. With difficulty Humayun succeeded in crossing the Indus. But even there he was not safe. The general who had made a compact with Shah Husen, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, had made a show of ensuring the passage for his sovereign. But no sooner was Humayun on the right bank than he openly renewed his intercourse with Shah Husen, and declared his revolt. Abandoned by almost all his followers, by some even of those whom he had most trusted, Humayun, despondent, hopeless of the future, began to talk of renouncing worldly affairs, of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and of devoting himself to religious exercises. From these thoughts he was diverted by the courage of his young wife, and by the entreaties of the followers who yet remained true to him. Following their advice, he quitted Sindh, and entered the deserts of Marwar to implore the aid of Maldeo Singh, the Rajput ruler of Jodhpur. Maldeo Singh refused the asylum he solicited; he lived long enough, however, to see the then unborn son of Humayun sitting on the throne of Hindustan.

Wearry and toilsome were the months spent by Humayun in the deserts of Rajputana. On every side he was repulsed. Driven, after many wanderings, from Jaisalmir, he was forced to seek a precarious shelter in the greater desert. Crossing this, he at length reached, after incredible suffering from want of water, the fort of Amarkot, some eighty miles eastward of Haidarabad. There, on a Sunday, October 15, 1542, four days after her arrival, his brave wife, Hamida Banu Begum, the companion of all his

wanderings, gave birth to a son, who was to be known to the world as Akbar, the second founder of the Mongol dynasty in India.

Humayun was poor. The birth of a son, however, was an event to be celebrated as the happiest of his life. He summoned, then, as soon as he had completed his thanksgivings to God, the chief of his domestic household, Shekh Jauhar, the same whose record of his private life has formed the basis of this article,* and asked him what was yet remaining of the things committed to his charge. Jauhar replied that he had at the moment only a bag of musk. Humayun ordered him to produce the musk, then, breaking it on a China plate, he divided it amongst his nobles as the royal present in honour of his son's birth.

The boy, who from this moment becomes the principal personage in the story, was named Abul Fath Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. Of his three nurses we have, owing to his care for their relations in after life, a special mention. The first of these was Mahum Anagah, who attended on Akbar "from the cradle till after his accession." She would appear to † have had unbounded influence in the harem, and over Akbar himself. She had one son, whose father was probably Humayun, and, therefore, half-brother to Akbar. The name of this son was Adham Khan. His career was full of adventure but his end was untimely. The second nurse was Pichah Jan Anagah, whose husband was likewise in the service of Hamida Begum, mother of Akbar. Their son, Zain Khan, foster-brother of Akbar, became a great commander, and was one of the ornaments of Akbar's court. He was accomplished, no mean poet, played on several musical instruments, and had a passion for collecting elephants. He died ultimately from excessive drinking, his only fault. The third nurse, Ji Ji Anagah, who was the

* The *Terkereh al Yakiat*: or, Private Memoirs of the Emperor Humayun, by Shekh Jauhar, translated into English by Major Charles Stewart, 1832.

† Blochmann's "*The Ain-i-Akbari*," p. 323.

wet-nurse, was the wife of the Shamsuddin Muhammad, who, I have already stated, saved the life of Humayun after the defeat of Kanauj. The same Shamsuddin had besides special charge of the child Akbar, with the title of foster-father. Their son, who was nourished at the same breasts, Mirza Aziz, became one of the most loyal and devoted friends of the great ruler. He was a man of a fine and noble nature, very capable. He held, ultimately, the highest offices. He was bold enough always to speak his mind freely to his sovereign. This boldness often offended Akbar, but he almost invariably submitted to it. He used to say: "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." He survived Akbar some years.*

Under their fostering care Akbar grew and flourished. At Amarkot itself, indeed, he remained only two months. Almost immediately after his birth, his father had been so successful in a skirmish with one of the Sindh chiefs that he had taken possession of the town of Jon, on an arm of the Indus, in the most fertile part of Sindh, and here his following had so greatly augmented that, in December of the same year, he sent for his wife and child. So formidable indeed did his position here seem to Shah Husen that he marched against him with a considerable force, and, though he was unsuccessful in an assault, he blockaded Humayun so effectually that the latter consented, after considerable negotiation, and on the condition that he was supplied with money and water-carriage to quit Sindh. On January 10, 1543, Humayun carried this resolution into effect. Crossing the arm of the Indus, he marched to Sehwan, taking with him the young Akbar, then nine months old. Before the negotiations had concluded an

* Of the pithy sayings attributed to this able man, who was famous for his address, his intelligence, and his knowledge of history, I may be permitted to quote the following: "A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to; a Khorasani woman for his housework; a Hindu woman for nursing his children; and a woman from Mawarannahr, to have some one to whip as a warning to the other three." —Blochmann's "*Ain-i-Akbari*," p. 327.

event had happened which, as affecting the early life of the child-prince, deserves special record.

On April 12, a nobleman joined the emperor. Bairam was a native of Badakhshan, the fifth in descent from a famous chief, Mir Ali Shukr Beg Baharlu. Educated at Balkh, then a flourishing city, he had, at the age of sixteen, entered Humayun's army, and had fought in the famous battle of Kanauj. Separated from the emperor in the confusion of the defeat, he had taken refuge with the Rajah of Sambhal. When in Malwa waiting for better times, he had met Sher Khan, the Afghan victor of Kanauj, and that prince had used all his influence to win him over. Faithful, however, to the cause of Humayun, Bairam refused all his offers, and fled, in company with Abul Kasim, governor of Gwalior, to Gujrat. They were surprised and taken during their flight by the large retinue of an ambassador of Sher Khan, returning from that place. The ambassador mistook Abul Kasim, a man of imposing stature, for Bairam, and was about to kill him, when Bairam stepped forward and exclaimed in a manly voice: "It is I who am Bairam." "No," said Abul Kasim, "I am, indeed, Bairam: this man is my faithful attendant, so brave and so faithful that he wishes to sacrifice himself for me: so let him go." The ambassador believed Abul Kasim, beheaded him as Bairam and released the true Bairam, who succeeded in reaching Gujrat. Thence, under pretext of sailing for Mecca, he embarked at Surat for Sindh, and joined his master at Jon. We shall see later on how he was appointed guardian to the Prince Akbar, and how greatly he influenced his destiny.

It was Humayun's object to reach Kandahar, with the hope of securing that important place. But the treacherous Shah Husen had sent information of his movements to Kamran, and that prince had ordered Askeri, then at Kandahar, to put that city in a state of defence, and to waylay and seize their eldest brother. Askeri made all his arrangements to surprise Humayun in his camp near Shal-Mustung. His plan would have succeeded but for the devotion of an

Uzbek, Chupi Bahadur by name, who managed to elude the vigilance of his chief and convey to Humayun the information that the enemy was approaching. Humayun had but the time to place his wife, Hamida Begum, on horseback, and to mount himself and gallop off, accompanied by forty men and two ladies. As for the young child, then but a year old, the father and mother both felt that the rapid journey which had been forced upon them on horseback in inclement weather, across a waterless desert, would be fatal. Akbar was left under charge of the faithful Shamsuddin, afterwards better known as Atgah Khan, to the tender mercies of his uncle.

Askeri behaved kindly to the child. He sent him into Kandahar to be under charge of his own wife, Sultanum Begum, and, whilst he treated cruelly the other nobles whom he had captured, he allowed Shamsuddin and the three nurses I have named to continue their ministrations. It testifies to the sweetness of the young prince's disposition that in a very short time he won the affection of his aunt who, as long as the child was in her charge, exerted herself to make him as little sensible as possible of the loss of his mother.

Akbar had been brought to Kandahar on December 15, 1543. He remained there carefully tended till the autumn of the year 1545. During those two years his father had greatly restored his affairs, and in October, 1545, he was advancing at the head of a considerable force from Sistan with the avowed intention of making a bid for Kandahar. Kamran, who ruled Afghanistan from Kabul, was resolved that however successful might be his brother's bid for Kandahar, he should not recover his child. No sooner, then, did he learn that Humayun was marching up the Helmund than he despatched a confidential officer to Kandahar with instructions to take possession of the young prince and bring him to Kabul.

It was not quite certain that his orders would be obeyed. The ties which united together the sons of Baber were

ever the ties of interest, and the surrender of Akbar depended entirely upon the opinion which might prevail in the mind of Prince Askeri as to the line of conduct best for his interests. When the confidential messenger of Kamran reached Kandahar, Askeri called a council of his ministers and chief officers to debate as to the reply which should be given. In that council opinions were divided. Some advised that the child should be restored to his father, who was close to Kandahar with a force which they believed to be irresistible; others dreaded incurring the displeasure of the powerful Kamran. Askeri would appear to have been for some time in doubt as to the course he should pursue. The fear of Kamran prevailed. Humayun was generous and would pardon. Kamran would neither forget nor forgive. Notwithstanding, then, the inclement season of the year, the young Akbar was despatched, still attended by Shamsuddin and his three nurses, to Kabul.

The journey was attended with some difficulty, because Kamran could not depend upon the loyalty of the district chiefs to himself, should they become aware that the son of Humayun was being conveyed as a prisoner. Many were the precautions taken to disguise the rank and name of the boy prince. At length, after the secret had more than once narrowly escaped discovery, the party reached Ghazni. The journey thence to Kabul was accomplished without adventure. There Akbar was confided to the charge of his great aunt, Khauzadah Begum, a lady of the highest consideration, the favourite sister of the Emperor Baber, and in every way worthy of that preference. It need scarcely be added that this illustrious lady bestowed upon him all the care of a mother.

Whilst Akbar was thus being tenderly cared for by the Begum, his father, Humayun, had besieged Kandahar and taken it. The news of this event had so alarmed Kamran that he at once removed Akbar from the custody of his great-aunt, threw his governor, the faithful Shamsuddin,

into prison, and placed him in his own palace, the Bala-Hissar, under charge of servants devoted to himself.

The two years which followed were remarkable for a succession of events all more or less affecting the young prince. Humayun, by a series of successful marches, enticed Kamran from Kabul, November 15, 1545, and capturing that city regained his son, whom he at once restored to the charge of Shamsuddin. His wife, Hamida Begum, arrived early in the following spring. Her arrival was the signal for the performance of the rite, the most important in the early life of a Muhammadan child, the rite of circumcision. The ceremony observed on the occasion was magnificent, and Humayun celebrated it by bestowing rewards upon the most distinguished of his adherents.

Then occurred another turn in the wheel of fortune. Humayun made an expedition into Badakhshan. It was successful; but whilst the victor was arranging the administration of the country, he fell dangerously ill. Kamran was at the time a fugitive in Sindh; but no sooner did he hear of his brother's illness, than he marched on Kabul, and took it. Once again did the young Akbar fall into the hands of his ambitious uncle. As a consequence, Shamsuddin was dismissed, and the care of the child entrusted to the servants of Kamran.

Then occurred the most perilous crisis in the life of the young prince. The recovery of Kabul by Kamran had been a surprise effected by a prince who had not the means to retain his conquest. Humayun advanced to retake Kabul, defeated the army which Kamran despatched to hinder his progress, and laid siege to the city. He took the outer fortifications, and had reduced the garrison to extremity, when Kamran, to check the fire of the besiegers, ordered his men to expose Akbar on the part of the wall where the fire was the hottest.* The information of this

* This fact is stated by Abul Fazi and by Nizami uddin Ahmad, author of the "*Tabakat-i-Akbari*;" but Sheikh Jauhar only states that Kamran

barbarity reached the ears of Humayun, and the firing ceased on that side. Meanwhile the child was uninjured.

A few days later Kamran succeeded in escaping from Kabul, and Humayun re-occupied the city. He found Akbar, his mother, and all the ladies of his household perfectly safe. The faithful Shamsuddin once more assumed charge of the child, whilst the emperor proceeded to pursue Kamran into Badakhshan. After a short campaign, Kamran surrendered, August 22, 1548, was pardoned, and treated with generosity, and assigned the province of Khutlan. Humayun returned to embrace his son at Kabul.

According to all appearance, the dangers which had encircled the life of the young prince from his infancy had disappeared. His father's authority was at last securely founded in Afghanistan and on its borders. He received all the attention due to the first prince of the blood-royal. But in those days it was necessary that a sovereign who wished to retain power should leave nothing to chance. Humayun would appear to have been wanting alike in that large comprehension and energy necessary to consolidate an empire. Certain it is that, Kamran again rebelled. To put an end to his brother's pretensions, Humayun, who had returned to Kabul, quitted that city (1550), leaving Akbar, then in his eighth year, the nominal governor, under the guardianship of Muhammad Kasim Khan Barlas, a nobleman, one of the partisans of Kamran, but now Humayun's trusted counsellor. Then occurred one of those surprises so common in those days of disorder. Humayun, who had marched from Kabul to crush Kamran, was himself surprised by Kamran at Dera Kipchak. Kamran re-occupied Kabul, and became master for the third time of the person of his nephew.

Not, however, for long. Humayun, who had escaped threatened to expose him. The cruelties perpetrated by Kamran during this siege were so terrible and so wanton that it is difficult to believe that he would have been withheld by any moral consideration from committing the outrage attributed to him in the text.

slightly wounded, from the field of Dera Kipchak, rallied his army at Anderab, marched against Kabul. Kamran issued from that city to meet him and the two armies met at Shutargardan, the pass used in our time by Sir Frederick Roberts in his march to Cabul in 1879. After a bloody fight Humayun gained the victory—a victory the more precious to him as on its conclusion he was delighted by the appearance on the field of his son Akbar, of whose fate he had been uncertain. On his arrival at Kabul, Humayun bestowed upon his son a rich jaghir.

From this time Akbar began to take a prominent and active part in State affairs. When only in his tenth year, he commanded an army-corps which proceeded from Ghazni to co-operate with the emperor in an expedition against Bangash, a fertile valley extending across the Sulaiman range, now subject to the chief of Kohat. The year following saw the complete collapse of Kamran, and that favourable turn in his affairs which made Humayun resolve to recover India.

Mention has been made of the illustrious nobleman, Bairam Khan, who had joined the Emperor at Jon. When Humayun first marched to Kabul he had appointed Bairam, governor of Kandahar, and, during the events I have recorded, Bairam had faithfully administered that important districts. When Humayun decided to re-conquer India, he summoned Bairam to Kabul with all the troops he could collect. Three and a half months after Bairam's arrival there, August 31, 1554, Humayun and Akbar, the latter in his thirteenth year, set out, at the head of 3,000 horse, leaving Bairam to bring on the artillery, infantry and stores. Humayun and Akbar marched on Jalalabad, and embarked there on a raft on the Kabul river. They reach Peshawar, then an integral portion of Afghanistan, in the last week of December, and on the last day of the year encamped on the bank of the Indus. There Bairam joined them, three days later, with the main body of the army.

Humayun crossed the Indus the very day of Bairam's arrival, and, marching rapidly forward, reached the Jalandhar district without meeting an enemy. Then he divided his army, sending Bairam Khan against the Afghan general encamped between Kilanur and Jalandhar, whilst, accompanied by Akbar, he marched on and occupied Lahor (February 24, 1555), amid the acclamations of the people.

Whilst from that central position the emperor and his son took measures to secure the country as far as the Satlaj, Bairam marched against his Afghan enemies. These fell back before him. Bairam followed them across the Sutlaj, caught them at Machhiwara, four miles from the left bank of that river, and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Sirhind was the immediate prize of this great victory. The permanent effects were still greater. It forced Sikandar Shah, one of the Afghan pretenders to the empire, to concentrate his forces and march against Bairam. To the assistance of Bairam the young Akbar then led a force from Lahor, Humayun following a few days later. They found Sikandar Shah besieging Bairam, in the town of Sirhind. They endeavoured at once to cut off the supplies of the besieging army. This endeavour brought on a general action (June 22, 1555)—the first in which Akbar, then in his fifteenth year, was engaged. The battle, hotly contested, terminated in the complete triumph of Humayun. It was decisive. On February 23, Humayun re-entered Dihli, after an absence of fifteen years, as a conqueror.

No time was lost in securing the remaining parts of his former empire. Agra surrendered without a blow. The main danger at this period proceeded from the ambition of the generals of the victor. One of these, Abul Maali, a special favourite of Humayun, who had taken to himself the credit of the victory of Sirhind, and to whom had been committed the command of the army of the Panjab, displayed so much self-seeking that [Humayun despatched Akbar to supersede him. Bairam Khan, appointed *Atalig*,

or guardian, to the young prince, accompanied him on this mission. To the prince Abul Maali, deserted by his officers, made an ungraceful submission, and Akbar then put his army in motion to expel Sikandar Shah from the hilly districts leading to Kashmir, where he had taken refuge. On his march information reached him that his father had fallen down the stone staircase of his palace and been killed (January 24, 1556).

It is said of the present Emperor of Austria that when, at the age of eighteen, he was informed that by the abdication of his grandfather and the renunciation of his father, at a most critical period in the fortunes of the empire, he was requested to assume the vacant seat, he remained silent for a few minutes and then exclaimed, "*Ich habe meine Jugend verloren*" (I have lost my youth). If such a thought forced itself into the mind of the young man of eighteen, much more strongly must it have occurred to the boy, but a few months over fourteen, whose life till that moment had been one long series of dangers and adventures. To secure for him an uncontested succession, the nobles of Dihli concealed from the public for seventeen days the information that Humayun was dead. But the throne of the deceased prince had not been so firmly founded but that it was proof against adventure.

At the very moment of his death, the titular successor of Sher Khan, Muhammad Shah Adel Shah, master of Bihar and Bengal, was collecting forces at Chunar to expel the Turki invader. On hearing of the death of Humayun, he despatched his best general, Rajah Hemu Bakal, against Akbar. As Hemu approached Agra the officer who commanded there, Iskandar Khan, a descendant of the Uzbek Kings, evacuated the place and fell back on Dihli. There, Tardi Beg Khan of Turkistan, a nobleman who had been the companion of Humayun on many a battlefield, commanded. As Hemu approached, Tardi Beg sallied forth to meet him and was defeated. Completely disheartened, he hastily evacuated the capital, and, with Iskandar

Khan, fell back on Akbar. That prince had meanwhile been advancing to relieve the capital, and had reached the plains of Panipat, seventy-eight miles to the north of it. There Hemu met him, and there the decisive battle for the possession of India, between the Turks and the Afghans was fought, November 5, 1556. Hotly was it contested.

The advantage at first lay with Hemu, for with his elephants and horsemen he broke the left wing of the Turki army. He turned then on the centre, where Akbar and Bairam commanded in person. Standing up in his howdah, for he rode an elephant, to encourage his men, he was wounded in the eye by an arrow. While suffering from the extreme torture, a young nobleman of the Turki clan, to which Bairam himself belonged, Shah Kuli Mahram by name, dashed forward and forced the elephant to the place where Akbar stood. The capture of Hemu decided the battle. The victory gave the empire to Akbar. The date on which it was fought marks the cessation of the youth of the greatest of the Mongol sovereigns, of the real founder of the dynasty which ruled as well as governed until another battle of Panipat (January, 1761) proved that its day was virtually over. The young prince, now become emperor, refused, on the last day of his youth, to stain his sword with the blood of his prisoner, though strongly incited to the barbarous act by his guardian, whose bloodthirstiness and cruelty lost him the affection of his sovereign. The greatness of the character of Akbar, as a man and as a sovereign, after his ascent to the throne, is attested by the records of the "*Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl Allami," the latest and best translation of which was published in 1873 by the lamented Professor Blochmann for the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This stormy childhood—stormy from its very cradle—proved a school well fitted for one who had to work out the regeneration of an empire. G. B. MALLESON.

THE CHINESE BRAVE.

IN the months of August, September, October, and November of 1884, there was a seemingly endless stream of Chinese soldiers marching on the north-east frontier of Tongking. The French demands for an indemnity had been refused, the Marquis T'seng had received his passport, and the order had gone out to the eighteen provinces to prepare for war. It was a queer sight this army of "braves" marching down to dispute the way with some of the most warlike troops in the world, for France sent her best fighting men to Tongking. On the road they might have been taken for a huge caravan, or a series of caravans, for the regiments were broken up into long straggling bands. Quite half of the men wore no uniforms; these, like the firearms and stores of all kinds, were carried down in boxes to the frontier and to the various entrepôts, and the warrior was only decked out and armed when he arrived at the front. The officers jogged along easily on hill ponies, with huge, wooden, padded saddles, and stirrups heavy enough to brain a man. Those of higher rank and bigger girth of waist progressed still more comfortably in chairs, carried by four or six groaning bearers. Some of these were rickety, black oilcloth-covered constructions; others smart, in blue cloth, and decked out with braid and tassels. The generals travelled in huge green sedans carried by eight coolies, heralded by minor officials and servants on scraggy ponies, with strings of flag-bearers, gong-men, guards, and miscellaneous ragamuffins.

The Chinese consider that they defeated the French,

and forced them to sue for peace. I saw a great deal of the Chinese armies, and all their fighting. Their successes, real or imaginary, will have a considerable influence, not only in China, but on her relations with the Western powers, and more particularly with Great Britain. It may, therefore, be worth considering in some detail what the Luh-Ying or Green Flag did, what it is likely to be capable of doing, and what the Imperial Government will do with it now that it has found out its faults and potentialities.

Troops came pouring into Lang-son during the autumn, and were passed on southwards, but nothing was done for weeks except fatigue work, the building of forts, and the digging up of the soil. The French did not move out of the flat delta lands for a long time. The weather was not favourable, and there were not enough troops to attack Lang-son. Moreover, great preparations were necessary for the commissariat and the finding of means of transport occupied time. For fifty miles the army would have to march through a country almost entirely barren. The Tongkinese were none too willing to go to Lang-son, for hundreds of them had been killed in the Bac-Le affair. The work expected of them was very severe, their treatment in many cases, especially by the artillerymen, was brutal in the extreme, and, when to this was added the chance of being killed by the Chinese, it was not to be wondered at that they hung back and had to be enrolled almost by force, and then guarded like so many prisoners.

The Chinese got tired of waiting and emboldened by what they considered the fear of the enemy. They encroached farther and farther on the low undulating country between Bac-Le and Phu-Lang-Thuong, the French advanced post, and farther east on the upper waters of the Loch-Nam river, towards Dong-Trieu, another French outpost. They burned villages and levied contributions on the country side, and at last their advanced guard appeared within three miles of

Phu-Lang-Thuong, and ransacked a village a thousand yards from the stockade.

The eighty millimètre guns soon dislodged them and drove them back, but the country was harassed so continually that General de Négrier was forced to advance, in order to clear his immediate front. This was in the beginning of October, 1884. The Chinese retired on Kep, a village about nine miles from Phu-Lang-Thuong, and there resolved to make their stand. They had three or four rude forts, or rather earthwork redoubts, formed of clods of earth, pierced for rifle fire, but with no cannon. The village itself lay on the northern or farther slope of a low hill, looking down on a lakelet of paddy-fields, and was surrounded by a thick wall of clay burnt almost into brick by the sun, and loopholed all round. On both sides of this and upon it grew the dense bamboo fence so invariable in all Tongkinese villages, except those far away in the hills. On the southern side were a number of low hills thickly covered with brush and secondary jungle. Winding round the base of these was the "Mandarin Road," the direct route from Tongking to China. It was over these hills, through the brush, that the French made their attack. The artillery took position on an elevation, and soon drove the Chinamen out of their forts; but they did not go far. In the meantime, in accordance with the stereotyped celestial notion of fighting a battle, a large body came round on the French right and threatened to turn their flank. While the bulk of Négrier's column was engaged with this enemy, Captain (now Commandant) Fortoul, the chief of the staff, with a few of the Chasseurs d'Afrique and a small body of infantry, made a detour on the left and seized a temple in the Chinese rear, cutting off their retreat by the direct China road, and capturing almost all the Chinese officers' ponies and sedan chairs. Meanwhile the Chinamen had been driven back on the right, some retreating on the village, some on the hills to the east. Lang-Kep was now attacked on nearly every side, but it never thought of surrender. The French artillery were firing shrapnel at about

three hundred yards range from the rising ground where now the chief fort is, and did great execution, notwithstanding that live bamboo stops a great deal. By and by the fence was cut down and torn into raggedness; clouds of dust rose as every now and then a house fell in, but the Chinese defenders, some six or seven hundred strong, and mostly ensconced behind thick mud walls, kept firing away all the time, though in very straggling fashion. Still, they never stopped altogether, and met the French shouts with yells of defiance and occasional brays on a hoarse trumpet. Three times the French charged up to the gate, but it was blocked up as solidly as the mud wall, and although some of them got near enough to fire through the Chinese loopholes they were beaten back. Hill bamboos are not cut through in a hurry. Then a couple of guns were brought up and fired at the gate till a breach was effected. If the wretched Chinamen had had the most elementary notion of how to aim a rifle, they could have prevented this, just as they could have shot down far more men during the assaults, if they had been instructed. But the best-trained marksmen in the world simply blaze away anyhow in their first action, and the Keg garrison had never been trained at all. The storm of *mitraille* and the shell at such close quarters was more than human beings could endure, and at the next attempt the French got in.

Then began a terrible struggle in the narrow winding lanes between the houses. Frenchmen and Chinamen fought literally hand to hand, and the strength was not always with the white man. Many a puny Gaul was only saved by having his bayonet fixed and knowing how to use it. A big French captain, a powerful man, with a voice like a trombone, that made him known all over the army, got to hand-grips with an equally brawny Chinaman, and the Celestial had the better of the struggle. He got the Frenchman down, and was just seizing his knife to cut his foeman's head off, when the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment blew his brains out with a revolver, and the captain

scrambled, bathed in blood, from beneath the dead body. The Frenchmen were in the greater numbers, and the Chinese had no notion of getting together for defence or retreat. They were killed off separately without mercy, and next day the Tongkinese *Tirailleurs* made a large pyramid of their heads.

At Chu, twenty miles over the hills to the east, and almost at the same time as at Kep, another desperate struggle took place. There the French were not so numerous and the Chinese did not allow themselves to be hemmed in. In fact, they got a company of the 111th of the line into a particularly tight place, and would have avenged the Kep slaughter if they had had any system or anyone to lead them. But it was simple indiscriminate mob-work, and before they had made up their minds what to do the artillery had found them out and time shell were bursting about their ears. The Chinamen fell back on the hills and the Frenchmen did not follow them up. They had not enough men, and they were not sufficiently prepared to send even a flying column.

Each Chinese camp was surrounded by a five-foot mud wall or breastwork, with crude loopholes for the defenders to fire through. No attempt was made to clear away the brush or any other cover, so as to form a glacis. As a matter of fact, the Chinese thought their forts impregnable. There were usually four weak gates to the camp, and in front of the main gate was the house of the general in command. The regimental colonels, and the higher officers generally, had separate dwellings a little retired from the men, but all of them placed so as to look down a lane to the limit of their respective section. The artillery commanders had their batteries drawn up in front of their doors, and a considerable proportion of the ammunition in their parlours. They would persist in keeping the guns down in the hollow at the entrenched camp. The pack mules, they said, would carry them up to the forts fast enough when they were wanted. When the general-in-chief came round, all the camps and

forts were decorated with flags planted in rows on the ground, according to the battalion to which they belonged. Everybody wore full uniform, and guns were fired off promiscuously on these fortunately rare occasions.

The men lived in tents, or more often in rough and ready thatched huts built of branches of trees, and as nearly as possible in a line, as the nature of the ground permitted. They were large, but all built at a few paces from one another. From ten to thirty men lived in each hut, and each section had its cooking pots, meals, and other arrangements in common, the fireplace being the primitive three bricks. The dwellings were hardly ever used except for sleeping purposes. The braves lived far from badly, according to their modest ideas of good living. Each man had his crockery bowl; each mess had its huge iron pan for cooking. Huge quantities of rice were heaped up in every camp, and served out with no niggard hand. Pork and pork fat there were in abundance. Vegetable gardens sprang up in the neighbourhood. Numbers of pedlers with refreshment stalls followed the troops and ministered to the wants of the epicure by the supply of the bean-curd, the salt fish, and brews of different kinds of vegetables, from nettles to bamboo shoots, in which the peasant delights. The officers had their ragouts of chickens and ducks; their jars of soy, and peanut, and other oils; their bottles of wine, mostly in old champagne quarts, with Chinese labels of a magniloquence calculated to convert a teetotaller. On the whole, the Chinese armies were far from badly off. They had guns that could fire quite as fast as the Frenchmen's, and, seeing that they knew how to let them off, and had millions of cartridges handy, they were reasonably confident. They had cannon, too, some from their own arsenals, with vaunting inscriptions on them for every man to read; Krupp guns and Vavasseurs, all new and formidable-looking, with little red flags stuck in the muzzle or in the breach; they had machine guns, and rocket-troughs, torpedoes, and electric cable, still rolled up in the coils in

which it had come down, but full of momentous possibilities. They had all the new-fangled and hateful things that the obnoxious "Flanciman" had and some over. Therefore, they were nearly vainglorious.

Meanwhile they were labouring away every day at their works. They built forts on all the highest hills first, then they went on building them on the lower eminences. These forts were simple ramparts of sods, run round the top of the hill, crenelated at regular distances, but it never occurred to any Chinaman to look through the loopholes to see what they covered, or indeed to see whether a lower shoulder of the hill did not let the enemy approach quite close under shelter. The removal of the sods and earth for the walls sufficed to make a trench. When the outer walls were finished, they built a redoubt. When that was done, they made shellproof trenches below, then they put up bamboo fences and entanglements outside, and finally they dug paths up the hillside, very often in the shape of steps, so that the stoutest old mandarin could walk up with some degree of comfort. In the forts a lieutenant or some officer of no great rank was in command, but the arrangements were not nearly so comfortable as in the camps of the valley, though every fort had its store-sheds of rice.

Discipline was kept up fairly well. Every now and again a man would be beheaded for insubordination, or stealing, or attempting to desert. In the more serious cases the culprit was tied to a stake in the ground, with his head bound to his heels, and left there to starve for many days before he was killed. On the whole, however, there was little of this sort of thing. All day long the men were hard at work. At night, a surreptitious opium pipe or two, and a little gambling on pay days, kept their spirits up almost as much as the long delay of the French. This was so prolonged that the Chinese began to believe that they were never coming at all, though they had constant news from the enemy's outposts. A *cantinier*

at Kep—the French had the inconceivable folly or *insouciance* to allow a Chinaman to start a grog-shop at their most advanced post, within half a dozen miles of the Chinese—kept them informed of all movements, and furnished them with a most miscellaneous and abundant supply of the gossip which the French linesmen indulged in over their *apéritifs*. This latter item soothed the sutler's lacerated feelings much more than it enlightened or gratified the Chinese leaders.

After a time the effect of the severe handling of the Chinese at Kep and Chu died away. It was necessary to keep up the food supplies, and so bands were sent reconnoitring day after day nearer to the French posts. Rice was carried off in large quantities from a village a mile and a half from the French fort at Kep. The Tongkinese inhabitants afterwards voluntarily took supplies to the Chinese camp. Throughout the war, in fact, the sympathies of the inhabitants, at any rate of the northern part of Tongking, were entirely with the Chinese. The Chinese looked upon them as an inferior race, certainly, but the French soldiers did the same, robbed them with equal unconcern, and kicked and brutally illtreated them into the bargain. The Chinese were elder brothers, not always very kindly ones, but they could make their wishes understood by other means than by the point of the bayonet or the toe. So wherever the Chinese went they got what they wanted, and the French never heard of their whereabouts till after the forage party was gone. Then the village headmen would come in with a sickly calf and a tray full of eggs, mostly half hatched, or dubious in other ways, called the French commandant their father and mother, and the protector of the poor, signed a paper declaring their submission to the Republic, received a few strings of *sapeques*, and a patriotic oration through the interpreter, and then went home again with their tongues in their cheeks, and *muksee capitaine* on their lips. *Muksee* is *merci*, and *capitaine* is the invariable form of address to every white

man, whether he be general, merchant, sutler, or only a blessed foreigner. If they had not made this submission, the village would have been burnt for harbouring the Chinese, and anybody caught, who looked as if he might be a headman, would have been shot. On one occasion, indeed, a French reconnoitring party did come across the Chinese. That was the way they put it; but the Chinese stated it the other way. The French were in a hollow, and suddenly the heights all round about became alive with Chinamen. A messenger had to be sent off at a gallop to Chu for help. The Chinamen had not the sense to stop him, and though about three hundred men fired at him not one of them knew enough to hit him. But they killed a lot of the Foreign Legion men before relief could come up from Chu. Then they cleared out before the French shell.

Thus it happened that General de Négrier had again to clear the French front before the regular march on Lang-son began. The Chinese had established themselves in considerable numbers in and near a market town called Ha-Ho, only two or three hours' march from Chu. The French marched against them something over 2,000 strong and with two batteries of eighty-millimetre guns, mounted on mules. There were perhaps 6,000 Chinamen. The poor, misguided creatures, confident in their new guns, ventured to attack the French in the open. They rushed forward blazing away wildly, and in no semblance of order. They were of course easily beaten and lost very heavily. The French occupied Ha-Ho. Early the next morning the same Chinamen, who had been so thinned out by the French fire the day before, with reinforcements from Mui-Bo, a cluster of forts not far behind, came on again. Again they advanced to the attack, yelling their utmost and blaring away vigorously on their trumpets. They even brought some Krupp guns into action, and with shell too that exploded. This was the only occasion, during all the Tong-king fighting, when the Chinese managed to get their shell to burst. It was only on two or three occasions that they used

their artillery at all, and, when they did, the shell, except on this one occasion, simply flopped harmlessly into the ground like round shot. Of course the Chinamen were beaten. Without any cohesion, without the slightest notion how to use their guns beyond discharging them, believing the noise they made and the yelling they kept up to be as good a means of overthrowing the French as any other, they were simply throwing away their lives and discouraging themselves for later work under more advantageous circumstances. One regiment from the north of Kwang-Si or from Hunan, distinguished itself by reckless audacity. They had banners with a most artistically ferocious green tiger on them by way of device, instead of the usual commander's name and their own style. They led the attack, and lost a large proportion of the Chinese killed of the day, but they had no greater measure of success than the rest, and they had knocked the sights off their rifles under the impression that they obstructed the view. When their first wind was gone and the French shell and bullets still continued to thin their groups, they got behind shelter like the rest, remained there till the French charged them with the bayonet and then bolted. Not only were the Chinese completely beaten, but General de Négrier, after his manner, was so energetic in pursuit that the Chinese had not time to rally in defence of the Mui-Bop forts, and these fell without an effort. Large quantities of military stores and the army treasure chest—some two or three thousand "chop" dollars—were captured, along with a considerable number of Martini-Henry and Remington rifles, together with some dynamite.

This defeat was more discouraging to the Chinamen than the French realised for the moment. They had just had a success in surrounding a company, and believed that they might attempt something bolder with a possible chance of success—at any rate, without any great disaster. But here they were overwhelmed by the headlong energy of General de Négrier, and had not the chance of saving any-

thing but what they carried with them. Henceforward they resolved to confine themselves to the defence of mountain passes and forts; and on the three possible lines of march, for Mui-Bop opened the way to a third, they redoubled their endeavours to make them impassable.

They might well consider them impregnable. Probably the "Mandarin Road" through Bac-Le and Thanh-Moi was so. The road beyond the mythical "Bridge of the Goddess of Mercy" wound in a cramped valley through forests along the base of an abrupt line of limestone rocks several hundred feet high, the route cut every here and there at right angles by deep torrent beds, on the farther side of each of which was a log breastwork. Forts, masked by the trees; caverns in the cliff-face turned into strongholds; opportunities for ambuscade at every step, were likely to have justified Celestial confidence. But the French did not attempt to force a way. General de Négrier made a reconnaissance in force from Kep, and then hurried round by water to Chu. Both brigades marched north from this by the Dong-Sung road. For two or three miles on either side of this village, now a huge entrenched camp, both sides of the defile were lined with forts. Every eminence, beehive-shaped hills—a cross between the Vosges and the Yorkshire wolds—covered with tall, coarse grass, and from a few hundred to a thousand feet high, had its forts. When the French came in sight, descending from the Deo-Vang ridge, the line of forts on either side of the valley, each fort with its banners streaming and waving defiantly, was grand in the extreme, and seemed to foretell days of desperate fighting. Well might the Chinese think it was a task beyond the strength of an army 6,000 strong. So it would have been if the Chinese had mounted, or had known how to use, their Gatling and Nordenfeldt guns, or even if they had been able to make a proper use of their small arms. But all except a few of the machine guns were left behind at Lang-son and Cua-ai, and farther back on the road, to

as far as Nan-Ning Fu. Moreover, the men got confused with their miscellaneous rifles.

The French carried their *quatre-vingt de montagne* to the tops of hills on mule-back, shelled the forts comfortably from a distance, and then sent the troops up the slope when the fort garrisons were thoroughly disorganised and had fired half the cartridges in their belts at nothing at all. Nevertheless, the first few forts offered more or less resistance, and one of them even drove back a company of the Foreign Legion in disorder. But the majority of them found too late that, except by getting on the top of the earthworks they could not cover anyone coming up the hill, that their loopholes only enabled them to fire straight before them, and that the casemates were almost entirely useless till the enemy was almost upon them, and got so choked up with smoke from a single volley that no one could see before him. Moreover, the garrisons were far too small, no reinforcements were sent up from the camp below, and the French were allowed to dispose of them piecemeal. The heights which the French captured on the first day covered a score or more of lower works, and the next day the artillery alone forced the evacuation of almost all of them.

It was a terrible blow to the Chinese, and no wonder. Here they had been labouring for months at the building of these defences, each one of which seemed to them capable of resisting for hours, if not altogether impregnable. Still, notwithstanding all their mistakes and misfortunes, if the Chinese had only used their artillery, they might have inflicted such loss on the enemy as to hinder his march on Lang-sou. Even as it was, the French had to halt three days to let the provisions and reserve ammunition come up. The Chinamen over the ridge in the Thanh-Moi valley profited by the opportunity to come over and cut the heads off several sentries. They nearly surrounded an outlying picket, kept up a fight at 800 yards distance throughout a day and charged a company of the Legion with fixed

bayonets at the end of it. All this gave the defeated warriors of Dong-Sung time to rally and the spirit to do so. But they were out of all conceit with their forts. There were many of them still, here and there along the defiles, but they were all abandoned.

The later fighting was of a desultory character. The Chinese crouched behind the hill-crests for shelter, and fired their guns into the air, without even seeing the enemy. The bolder spirits jumped up and fired from the hip, with the muzzle at an angle of forty-five. No doubt there are very few, even among veterans, who ever think of aiming deliberately in the heat of battle, but at any rate they adjust their sights for those who are directly attacking them. The Chinamen killed quite as many people a mile and a half in the rear as they did in the front line. The Chinese showed themselves as incomprehensible in their fighting as they are in many other things. They would give up position after position, and then they would come wildly charging on the enemy, fifty or a hundred at a time, shrieking and howling, and waving their guns, without an attempt to cover their advance. The stragglers and wounded that the French caught refused with calm scorn, to give any information as to the numbers and whereabouts of the army, reviled the two or three Saigon Chinamen that acted as interpreters for the French, and walked off the road, tranquilly and submissively, to where the French butcher motioned them, knelt on the ground, and held up their heads sideways, without flinching, so that the bullet might be the more easily put into their ear.

In the fighting at Bang-Bo, and onwards to Lang-son, at the end of March, they were the victors, but it was not through any change of tactics, or a use of their artillery. They followed up General de Négrier's brigade, repulsed and retreating, more because its ammunition was running out than because it was out-numbered and out-fought with the utmost intrepidity; surrounded and shot down a company of the 11th of the line, and lost far more men with

indifference in their victory than ever they had in defeat, except in the Kep massacre. When four days, after their first success at Bang-Bo, they tried, on March 28, to carry the forts at Ki-Lua, over the river from Lang-son, they advanced three times to the assault with most desperate courage, under a withering fire, and with no cover within three-quarters of a mile of the ramparts. But they advanced in the usual antiquated fashion. A prize was offered to the successful brigade. Accordingly, when one advanced and failed, another followed with the same result, and a third did not hesitate to try its fortune, and all this against unbreached walls. No brigade received any assistance from another. The reward would have been halved, and so would the credit of the officer in command.

Similarly, when the French commenced their retreat from Lang-son the day following, it was hurried enough certainly, but it was not so precipitate but that the Chinese could have overtaken them by hill-paths and cut off, or at any rate, forced the French to run the gauntlet of a plunging fire against which artillery would have been of little use. The matter was made the easier by the division of the French force into two, for greater speed in retreat, and for the preservation of Chu and Kep, which otherwise would have been too weakly garrisoned. But instead of attempting anything of this kind the Chinese had a Thrasonical brag over the capture of Lang-son, and then followed the French up by their own roads, driving them before them instead of herding them in. In face of an enemy having the slightest military knowledge, or even the most elementary conceit of themselves, General de Négrier's brigade must have been annihilated. As it was, it was only cut in half, and Kep and Chu, immensely strong positions, received humbled but desperate garrisons.

If negotiations for peace had not for some time been progressing, and, indeed, actually approaching completion, there is no doubt that the war would have been greatly extended, and that each successive combat would have proved

more severe for the French. At first, the Generals of the Kwang-si and Kwang-tung army corps were inclined to grumble at the order to retire again into Chinese territory, but a severe check received in front of Kep and a recognition of the fact that the French did not intend to retire farther, led them to acquiesce more readily in their recall. Still they left off practically victorious, and the knowledge of this is likely to do harm to China in two ways. In the first place, the consciousness that she has met and defied one of the great European powers, will produce increased vaingloriousness.

They will, in the second place, consider that, if their military system is not perfect, it is sufficiently good to meet a first-class military power. The Chinese must not draw too sweeping conclusions from their latest experience. The French fought bravely and with numbers much inferior to the Chinese, but still the contest was not equal. They were armed with weapons, as a whole, superior to the Chinese, and they had been trained how to use them. They had artillery and it was well served, and, in fact, won almost all their battles for them. Above all, they had confidence in the skill of their leaders and the courage of their officers. The war was, nevertheless, mismanaged from beginning to end. It was allowed to drag on over three years, till the Chinese were led to believe that France had made her strongest effort with what she had in the field and that not only was the Republic unable to attack a vital point like Peking, or Canton, but was inevitably destined, with the assistance of time, to fail in what it had begun in Tongking and Formosa. The attempt to do two things with a force which was barely strong enough for one was a calamitous failure, for it is not too much to say that the Tongking expedition was a failure. The French were held in check at Tuyen-Kwan, on the north-west front, and if the war had continued, would almost perforce have had to evacuate that citadel. They were actually driven from Lang-son, and thus

they had huge armies to face, one on each flank, in the worst season of the year. It was a regular see-saw. To oppose the Yunnan army and the Black Flags, they had to borrow from Kep and Chu, and when they had struck a blow on the Red River, they had to hurry east to save disaster in the Bacninh province. In Formosa the situation was the most pitiful that a European nation has ever been in in face of an Eastern foe.

Against French skill and confidence the Chinese had little to oppose except an endless supply of men. They had arms of precision, but they did not know how to use them, and beyond this they made the fatal mistake of buying arms of every kind they could get hold of. From their own arsenals they got Sniders, Martini-Henrys and Remingtons. Then from America they got shiploads more of Remingtons. From speculators throughout the treaty ports they got Mauser rifles, Winchester and Spencer repeaters, Berdans, Enfields, and Brown Besses; a couple of hundred of match rifles, Deely-Metfords, and Westley-Richards, from one firm, and a few thousand old Chassepôts and Miniés from another. Their cartridges came from the ends of the earth. The ordnance department was a scratch creation, or rather was the ordinary provincial conclave of mandarins. Consequently the arms were sent indiscriminately wherever they were wanted, and were served out anyhow. A big man got a Martini-Henry or a Mauser, and a little one had a Spencer or a Winchester given him. Therefore, a brave who on the march down had learnt from a casual friend how to manage a Snider, was at his wits' end to know what had become of the hammer when a Martini-Henri was served out to him. Another, who was proud of his knowledge of the way to load a Remington, was abashed when he was given a Mauser, with its projecting nob which did not seem to lend itself to anything. The difference between the Spencer and the Winchester did not seem interesting to men who had to defend their lives with them. Their confusion, of course, was far from ending here. The mandarin mind

did not grasp the fact that any given cartridge will not fit every gun. Neither did the soldier, proud in having at length mastered the details of his barbarian engine of destruction, suspect for a moment that his troubles had only begun. The man who had a Snider cartridge given him to fire out of a Winchester repeater was happy, for in this case at least, it was obvious to the meanest capacity that it was impossible to insert the cartridge. It was many sizes too large. But it was different with another who got a Mauser or a Remington cartridge to fire out of a Martini-Henry. It seemed just possible that a little thinning down might make it available. But how to thin it down was the trouble. Scraping it with a knife or rubbing it on a stone did not do much good, and destroyed the rim, so that the extractor would not catch it. Hitting it with a stone was still less satisfactory, and sometimes made it go off when it was not wanted. Attempts to right the confusion were not successful, and at last the purveyors at the front hit upon a plan, which, as they thought, solved the whole difficulty. They had wide cartridge belts made, covering the whole chest of a man, and into compartments of each belt they put an assortment of every kind of cartridge they had in store. But between Martini, Mauser, Berdan, Remington, Snider, Winchester, Peabody, and Boxer cartridges, the wretched brave had some three or four hundred cartridges to carry, with the knowledge that by far the larger portion would be of no use to him. The mystery was that the Chinamen were able to keep up the good fire they did, and it was small wonder that the French found the roads and by-paths and the very hill-sides sown with cartridges that had never been fired.

Here, then, the Chinese, notwithstanding their modern arms, were at a heavy disadvantage. They were still more so with their artillery and other new-fangled engines of war. They had Krupp and Vauvasseur guns from their own gun-factories. They had Krupp guns from Essen. They had other stray batteries which they had picked up from specu-

lators in Hongkong and elsewhere, who had very often had them for years in their godowns. Then at Lang-son they had mortars throwing six-inch shells. They had rocket-tubes and rocket-troughs, and a large supply of twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four pound war-rockets. They had heard that Gordon used land torpedoes in the defence of Khartoum. Gordon was a kind of extra god of war to them, so they promptly sent down abundance of torpedoes which were not wanted for the defence of the Canton River. Finally, they had mountain guns, Gardiner, Gatling, and Nordenfeldt. The excitement over these outlandish appliances as they arrived at the Cua-ai magazine or at Langson was extreme, and the big-boned Hunan conscripts, and the Kwang-si trainbands, rejoiced to think that at last they would meet the *Fankwai* on equal terms, and were likely to see how he would stand his own showers of lead and the diabolical shells that burst mysteriously overhead and killed people down in a hollow with a big hill between them and the enemy. But, alas, the time never came. Battle after battle the poor wretches fought, holding their own against rifle fire, and only put to the rout by the villainous shells that came from far away hill-tops, or by the *mitraille* from closer quarters. Only twice were the Krupp guns fired—at Mui-Bop, in January, and at Dong-Dang, in the end of February; and at Dong-Dang the shell, otherwise well enough planted, failed to explode, probably because they were filled with charcoal instead of powder, a trick that foreign contractors and some arsenal mandarins find very profitable. The machine guns were never used at all, neither were the mortars and rockets. The torpedoes simply cumbered the ground, and it was a mercy that some blunderer did not succeed in exploding such of them as were charged. If the Gatlings and Nordenfeldts had been mounted and reasonably well served in Dong-sung defile, the French would probably never have got to Lang-son. No wonder, then, that the poor Chinese levies lost heart. They had presumed

that, because the guns were there, some one knew how to use them; but those who had this knowledge were officers, and they did not care to expose themselves to the fire which would be immediately directed on a battery. Consequently the braves lost the last trace of confidence they might have had in their leaders. If they had not guessed before that generals who remain a day's march behind when their troops are in action are of no great value, they certainly must have come to that conclusion when they found that the cannon ready to hand were not used. The other officers were not in any way more estimable. None but the inferior rank went to the front. The majority had not an idea more than their men what ought to be done. Some were simple cowards, others were recklessly foolhardy, and went charging with a section against the whole French army.

When we add to this the fact that the levies had passed all their lives in a society where military virtues are regarded as of little moment, and where military officers are looked upon as little better than brawlers and bullies, it was little wonder that the Chinese armies did not do much, notwithstanding their numbers. These numbers, moreover, were in a particular engagement of no great value, for no commander ever thought of backing up another. Each man was supposed to look out for himself when he was attacked. If he got into trouble, that was no reason why any one else should put himself out of the way to join him. Finally, with the Chinese a panic, or even a headlong flight brought no disgrace. They were, therefore, not supposed to have any self-respect to lose, or credit to gain. Moreover, the scare was soon over, and they were prepared to fight in the same way a few days later.

The Chinese forces engaged in the two years' fighting were, therefore, such as China could turn out by the hundred thousand in case of need. Probably not more than 30,000 were under fire altogether in Tongking. Yet China gained her point. She had no indemnity to pay, and Kelung and

the Pescadores were restored to her without any prolonged occupation. The Imperial court may, therefore, think that the same will happen in any future war, and that, therefore, any attempt to organise the Green Flag army would not only be dangerous to the Manchu dynasty, but actually unnecessary from any point of view. Nevertheless, it is obvious that a proper force, expeditiously managed, could do anything it liked against the Luh-Ying, and the only effective thing in dealing with China is to attack Peking.

But here a very different force has to be dealt with. It is one of the strangest things in that extraordinary country, China, that the governor-general of the province in which the Imperial capital is situated commands an army practically his own, and that this army is the only force worthy of the name in all the Middle Kingdom. Li Hung-chang is governor-general of the province of Pe-Chihli. He is much feared at court. He is detested by almost all his colleagues. He is a pure Chinaman, and he has been supposed to aspire to be the founder of a new Chinese Imperial dynasty. One of the shifty projects of the French in their late irresolute war of *chasser-balancer* was to tempt Li over to their side by the promise of the throne of the Hwang-Ti. Whether the proposal was actually made is doubtful. If it was, it is almost certain that the grand secretary had belief enough in his army to prefer loyalty. His first war experience was under Tseng Kwo-Fan, whom he succeeded in 1866 as governor-general of the Two Kiang. His connection with Gordon at Su-chao is familiar to all Englishmen, and it was then that he learnt the value of discipline to an army. When, in 1871, Li first settled at Tientsin, he had under his command eighteen battalions of the nominal strength of 500 men each. Whether twenty-two battalions which he had sent to put down the Shen-si rebellion have since returned, or whether he has replaced them by others, is not very clear, but it is certain that he has now a very large number of well armed troops. These are chiefly kept at Tientsin, and it is they who furnish the

garrisons of the Taku and Peh-Tang forts and also of Port Arthur in the gulf. The formidable armament of these forts is well known, and Li Hung-chang's field artillery is also numerous and efficient. The actual value of this force has never been tested, but it is certain that it would be a very much more serious enemy than anything the French had to meet.

The faults of the Chinese "brave" army have been indicated. They are of a nature that can be easily removed. That the nation is not cowardly was sufficiently proved by what these poor scratch levies did. Mr. Meadows, who knew the Chinese as well as any Western can, says: "The Chinese possess as much constitutional or animal courage as any other specimens of the human race, but of that courage which is based on a determination of the mind to display intrepidity they are nationally wanting, simply because their own opinions and institutions offer little inducement to their minds to come to any such determination." That the nation has other qualifications besides bravery is very easily proved. The raw material for soldiers is extremely good. Their physique is far better than that of any Oriental nation, and many of the men would compare with the most muscular races in Europe. They have the common eastern capacity of supporting fatigue. They march habitually as fast and as long as a European flying column, simply because they are never encumbered with the heavy baggage which delays our armies so much. They are temperate and frugal, and can live on an amount of food and support privations which would rapidly decimate any European races. They are naturally law-abiding, docile, and obedient to authority. They are intelligent, ingenious, and persevering. The terror which the country people have of the soldiery is simply due to the fact that the present force of the Luh-Ying is largely filled with vagabonds, of whom some are too weak to be of any use, except to illtreat the villagers and others are in league with the smugglers, robbers, and all the blackguards of the country side.

The officers almost universally falsify the returns and make deductions from the men's pay. Consequently the latter have to live on the country, which necessarily embitters public feeling against the army. But that a Chinese force can be brought to a very efficient and disciplined state is sufficiently proved by the history of Gordon's force. When the soldiers are properly paid, there is no robbing of villagers and farmers. When they are properly officered and looked after, they are as law-abiding as other citizens of the Empire, and as much in hand and as adaptable as any soldiers in the world. They were found in the Ever-Victorious army to work admirably as sappers. They were quite cool, owing to the national lymphatic temperament, and, however great their losses, did not become restless under fire, like Europeans. In almost every case they carried off their wounded and even their dead from the field. This was more than the French did. In the Bac-Le retreat many of the severely wounded were abandoned, or, as whispers have reached France, were killed by their comrades; at least one officer, an Irish captain of the Foreign Legion, was left on the field last March badly wounded, and his company actually saw his head cut off without an attempt to save him. Cruelty is, perhaps, natural to the phlegmatic temperament of the Chinaman, but it must not be forgotten that, after peace was concluded, they restored to the French some soldiers whom they had taken prisoners. That was more than ever the French did; they killed every one—wounded and stragglers, uniformed brave and plain shopkeeper.

The Chinaman drills fairly well, but can never get over the belief that military evolutions are simple "show pidgin," and are of no real value in the field. As a nation, they are absolutely without imagination. They can learn anything, but they can conceive nothing. They readily pick up the most complicated military manœuvres, but unless the exact order they have learnt is always preserved, they are lost. Very strict discipline and able officers will

be necessary to make them retain the parade ground movements on the field of battle. Li Hung-chang's army is said to have constant practice in firing. The raw levies in Tongking knew just enough to discharge their guns and no more. A few of the garrisons on the Canton River, at Whampoa and elsewhere, made very fair practice at 200 yards, at a single target, painted black and with no bull's eye; but they were never exercised at any longer distance, probably because of the difficulty of explaining the sights.

Throughout this paper no notice has been taken of the Black Flags. They are simply outlaws and robbers, but they showed what Chinamen could do. They were daring to excess; they were admirable marksmen; their promptness of action, ability to seize the smallest advantage, and unfailing readiness of resource, showed them to be splendid stuff for soldiers. They were simple ruffians, but there is no reason why other Chinamen should not be trained to their fighting efficiency and display their good qualities without their drawbacks.

But none of these qualities will be of any use until there are skilled officers to command the men, and that cannot be until military men of all grades are freed from the stigma of contempt that now lies upon them. They do not pass literary examinations, and therefore they are held unworthy of respect. Following a similar line of argument, it is thought that talented literati, having studied all the classics, must necessarily know a great deal about strategy and other military arts. And, indeed, accounts of battles and sieges are a favourite subject for the themes of the "red-sashes," and seem to justify the reliance which the public places in them. Civilians are constantly being put in chief command of the Chinese armies. They do not interfere much in the general arrangements, and, indeed, are always too far in the rear to be able to arrange a plan of action. After a battle they write an account of it in balanced periods, and ask to be punished for their want of success.

The Chinese have had a valuable lesson from their war with France. If they care to follow up its teachings they may make themselves unassailable by any nation on earth. They are an essentially peaceful race, and it might be well that they should be a strong one. They possess an authentic political history for 4,200 years, and when Cæsar conquered Britain, China was as great as it is now. The sons of Han are spread over an area the very vastness of which few people in Europe appreciate, and their numbers, even in proportion to their territory, are enormous. The Flowery Land has survived through long ages of varied fortune. It has been conquered many times, and each time has risen superior to defeat, has absorbed one race of conquerors, and driven out another, and has still remained a great Empire. Signs of disruption are, however, not wanting. If each province were allowed to have its highly-trained and efficiently armed battalions, the jealousies which even now are violent and rife enough might break out into open strife, and end in ruin. But this the Imperial government is little likely to permit. The danger of such standing armies is recognised as close at hand. The danger from a foreign foe may be remote. It may be warded off, or it may be tided over in the same scrambling way as the war with France. At any rate, the Government will not willingly prepare for themselves the danger which a skilful general might prove to the Manchu dynasty. Better the wound from without than the cancer within. It may, therefore, be prophesied with some confidence that the Chinese brave, with his big, flapping hat, his umbrella, his pipe, and his fan, will not be trimmed into a smart and steady campaigner for many a long day.

J. GEORGE SCOTT (SHWAY YOE).

REVIEWS.

Balfour's Cyclopædia.

A QUESTION which many ask, and to which we at least are specially bound to reply, is, Where can accurate information be obtained about India? Dr. Balfour enables us to answer the question without hesitation. His "Cyclopædia of India" in 3 vols., recently published by Bernard Quaritch, supplies it, and not only for India but for the greater part of Southern Asia. As specialists we might be disposed to regret that he had unnecessarily expanded the field of his investigation, although he gives an excellent reason for so doing; and there can be no doubt that the general reader and student will feel the additional information thus supplied an enhancement of the original obligation. Dr. Balfour states in his prefatory notice that the work contains 35,000 articles, and 16,000 index headings relating to an area of 11,722,708 square miles, and peopled by 704,401,171 souls. To those, therefore, who seek information on Asiatic questions, it may be remarked, procure Balfour's Cyclopædia for your own library shelves if you can, and if the cost be too great, utilise its knowledge by frequent reference at the British Museum. There is much to interest the reader and to hold his or her fancy in the descriptions given of the numerous races of India, and of the strange and often repellent customs which show their proximity to barbarism, at the same time that they may establish their descent from an earlier civilisation than our own. Those who turn to these volumes will be equally instructed and amused. A cyclopædia is required for purposes of reference, and not for thorough perusal, yet

we have seen far duller and less pleasant books than this for several hours' promiscuous reading. In one sense those who try this plan can hardly be at fault; for, open the volumes where one may, the eye will scarcely fail to light upon something that will attract notice and deserve the most careful attention that can be bestowed upon it. We could quote our own experience in support of this assertion, but such proof is unnecessary. By the aid of this Cyclopædia, of Dr. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer, and of Colonel Yule's forthcoming Glossary, the plea of ignorance on Indian subjects should no longer be considered to possess any validity. If we can only agree as to the simple facts, a great advance will have been made in the treatment of Indian and Asiatic topics.

The Turk Race.

To the English public the name of Arminius Vambéry is most familiar as that of an enterprising traveller and an outspoken denouncer in the Press and upon the platform of Russia's insidious encroachments and ambitious designs in Asia. But among his own countrymen, and in literary circles everywhere, he is still better known as, perhaps, the highest living authority on the languages and history of the widespread nationality from which Magyar, Bulgar, and Ottoman alike, though at far intervals of time and place, draw their origin. Those who take an interest, and probably a large number of our readers do so, in the fate of the Ottoman Empire, and in the career and character of the remarkable people who founded it, and made it for a long period the glory of Islam and the terror of Christendom, should study the Professor's latest work ("Das Türkenvolk," Brockhaus, Leipzig) on the ethnology of the Turkish race. The able and erudite author stands by universal recognition in the foremost rank, if he does not, indeed, occupy a unique position, among those competent to treat that most difficult

and obscure branch of Asiatic history indicated by the title of his book. He has lavished upon it such wealth of learning and research, diversified by acute commentary, original thought, and graphic illustration as convinces us it is the product not only of vast labour, but a labour sweetened by intense sympathy with his theme. It is true that previous writers had handled the same subject in detached parts, and with reference to one or other of the scattered members of the Turkish family; but Professor Vambéry has been the first, we believe, to undertake the onerous task of collecting, collating, and welding into a concrete form the isolated fragments left by misty legends and incomplete records of the whole race having pretensions to classic descent from Turk, the eldest son of Japhet. From the days, however, of this eponymous chief till the middle of the sixth century, A.D.—a long disappearance it must be confessed—the incidents and the names distinctive of Turkish national life are either altogether unknown, or enveloped in foggy myths, or only to be faintly traced by the aid of modern philology amid the twilight of tradition. It was not until the reign of Justinian that the Greeks first came to the knowledge that among the Scythians of central Asia there existed a separate people, called Turks. Their habits were then nomadic, pastoral, and predatory, and their prince, Dizabulus, displayed with rude ostentation before the eyes of an envoy from Constantinople the hoards of precious metals and rich stuffs which had been acquired in war or foray, or some small portion, perhaps, in commerce, with his neighbours of China and Persia. His frontiers approached, if they did not march with, those two countries; and in other directions his boundaries were extensive, but as ill-defined as boundaries have ever been in those regions, stretching northward into the inhospitable wastes of Siberia, and marked, if not confined, on the south by the waters of the Oxus. Professor Vambéry follows the migrations of the five branches of the nation—viz., the Turks of Siberia, of Central Asia, of the Volga,

of the Euxine, and of the West. He describes with a lucid pen their customs and manners, and explores with all the zest, and elucidates with all the skill of a profound philologist the abstruse questions connected with their numerous dialects, which, although differing, yet betray to the skilled investigator a common origin. Professor Vambéry has written a great work, and earned the gratitude of every Oriental scholar.

Wanderings in China.

Travelling in China is no longer the perilous undertaking that it once was, and along the beaten tracks it can be performed in comparative security. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the lady, who did so much to popularise the islands of the Pacific, should have turned her steps to the Middle Kingdom. The narrative of her experiences in the Treaty Ports, and in the capital of the Chinese Empire is contained in the two volumes which have just been published by Messrs. Blackwood, under the title of "*Wanderings in China*," and those who have read Miss Gordon Cumming's previous works will not need to be told that she is an agreeable and instructive chaperone in the study of fresh countries and strange peoples. With this general confirmation of the excellence of the book, we may call special attention to the merits of the two chapters entitled, the "*Offerings of the Dead*," and the "*Temple of Heaven*." In the former the importance of ancestral worship is exhibited in the clearest manner, and Miss Gordon Cumming makes it appear at least probable that six millions sterling are annually expended in China in offerings at ancestral temples. The opinion more or less prevalent throughout the whole of the Asiatic world, that a man dies dishonoured if he does not leave a son to perform the rites of religion in his honour, reaches its most intense form in China. This strong national sentiment has on more than one occasion

influenced the succession to the throne, while it has been known to react in the opposite direction by a father, who has felt a sense of his own shortcomings, insisting that his son should "bury him in common clothes as an indication of his fault." We need scarcely state here that in China the colour of full mourning for a relation, or for the emperor, is white, while blue is that of complimentary mourning. Some of the obligations imposed by the strict letter of the law, *e.g.*, that no marriage should take place for twenty-seven months after the death of the emperor, and which at certain periods of Chinese history would have entailed a prolonged national celibacy, are evaded by the power left in the hands of the new emperor to decree at any moment the termination of the time given over to public lamentation. The Chinese have very practical methods of evading the inconvenience of their laws, which they preserve in their original and possibly antiquated form. The Temple of Heaven, at Peking, is to the Chinese very much what St. Peter's is to the Roman Catholic; and the most stately ceremonial at the Chinese court is the emperor's prayer and offering to Shangti within its precincts. For a full account of this semi-religious, semi-secular celebration we must refer the reader to Miss Gordon Cumming's own pages, which convey a great deal more knowledge to the ordinary mind than many volumes of a more pretentious character.

General Chesney.

General Chesney's biography ("The Life of General F. R. Chesney." W. H. Allen & Co.) is not such heavy reading as that officer's own account of the "Euphrates Valley Expedition" was, but that remarkable expedition was the one episode in his career which will perpetuate his fame as an intrepid and intelligent explorer. Fifty years have passed since it was undertaken, and the Euphrates Valley Railway, which Sir William Andrew has spared no effort to keep before his countrymen and the

Government, remains apparently as much a dream as it was before Chesney showed how easily it could be realised ; but his name will remain indissolubly associated with the immense improvement effected within that period in the communications between England and her Eastern possessions and markets. Nor will this be only on account of his favourite project, for to him belongs the credit of having discovered the error of the great Napoleon's engineers, and of having established the practicability of a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. M. de Lesseps openly proclaimed his right to be styled "The Father of the Canal." The life of such an Englishman, even although it was in other respects uneventful, cannot fail to be instructive to a wide circle of readers. The account given of the Chesney family, and of its adventures in America during the War of Independence, and afterwards in the north of Ireland, is highly interesting. Those who read the volume will discover that General Chesney was brought up in a hard school, which could not but leave an impression upon his character. The abruptness and harshness of manner which were habitual to him must have covered a kind heart and an affectionate disposition, as is shown by his constancy to Miss Fraser, his attachment to whom forms a pretty idyll running through these pages. With regard to his great scheme of a railway from the Levant to the Persian Gulf, we regret its not being carried out in the years following the Crimean war as might have been done had the Government of England given the smallest expression of approval and encouragement. The author of this volume states that the line was sacrificed by Lord Palmerston to the necessities of the French alliance. But, while sharing to the fullest extent the regret of Chesney's admirers that his scheme was not carried out, we cannot obscure from ourselves the great difference in the position of the case now and in 1861. The construction of a Euphrates Valley Railway at the present day bristles with difficulties. It is only practicable as part of a resolute

policy to maintain the integrity of Asiatic Turkey and Persia against Russia, and the chances of such a policy being adopted and consistently carried out appear deplorably remote. Whatever Turkey may do herself on a small scale towards facilitating such an undertaking in the future is worthy of encouragement, but the occasion for attempting the larger enterprise will only arrive *after* a successful war on the part of England against Russia. Until that has happened, Englishmen will think twice before risking their money in an undertaking which would be the chief spoil of Russian success. General Chesney must be esteemed unfortunate in the temper of his time. The English people, with the most practical reasons to carry it out, neglected the Euphrates Valley Railway; while the French, for the sake of a mere idea, cut through the Isthmus of Suez, and established the short water route to India and China, which only a short land route without interruption will completely supersede.

The Malayan States.

Mrs. Innes has written an extremely interesting account of her six years' residence in the Malayan State of Langat, and she has given it the very catching and not inappropriate title of "*The Chersonese with the Gilding off*" (R. Bentley & Son). Her readers will agree with us that if all Malayan states are like Langat there is very little gilding to come off. Those who turn to the bright and graphic pages of these volumes cannot fail to be entertained, and Mrs. Innes imparts just enough solid matter to her narrative to give it something more than an ephemeral interest. Her description of the Malay character is especially good. The Malay she says is the laziest being on the face of the earth, and, by way of illustration, she adds, he would like to lie under a banana tree all his life and let the fruit drop into his mouth. In his eyes an Englishman is unnecessarily and troublesomely energetic, but a Chinaman

is still worse. After her descriptions of the mode of life and habits of the Malays, it seems marvellous how Mrs. Innes could have managed to exist so long in their society. One Malayan chief who used a knife with his meals alternated the process of cutting up his food by paring his toe nails, and this incident is far from being unique of its kind. The experience of Mrs. Innes in this quarter of the world was full of danger as well as of unpleasantness. While living in the resident's house at Pangkar, Captain Lloyd was murdered by the Chinese, and she herself and Mrs. Lloyd were attacked, wounded and left for dead. That there is a brighter side to Malay life and climate the reader will perceive from Mrs. Innes's glowing account of Kuala Kangsa, the residence of Sir Hugh Low, the resident at Perak. Not merely was the scenery lovely, but Sir Hugh's style of living left little desire to change Perak for London. Into the causes and consequences of Mr. Innes's spontaneous retirement from the service we need not enter here. He must have felt some satisfaction in Lord Kimberley making one of his letters the basis of a despatch after he had refused him all the compensation to which he held himself entitled. As Mrs. Innes herself observes somewhere in her book, the individual, unlucky or indiscreet enough to come into collision with a government, generally gets the worst of it, and very little sympathy besides. Of the merits of her work within its compass we cannot speak too highly, and we shall hope to meet Mrs. Innes again under an Asiatic sky.

The Mahomedan World.

In the brief space at our disposal, it is only possible to express in general terms the unreserved approval with which we have to welcome this new work by the learned and accomplished author of "Notes on Muhammadanism." [A DICTIONARY OF ISLAM. By THOMAS PATRICK HUGHES,

B.D. W. H. Allen & Co.] It is rather remarkable that notwithstanding the increased popular interest which has been manifested in recent years in connection with all matters affecting the East, and the great attention now given in this country to the study of comparative religion, no effort should have been hitherto made to place in the hands of the English-speaking peoples of the world a systematic exposition of the doctrines of the Moslem faith, which is moreover the rule of life of not less than 40,000,000 of our fellow-subjects in India, and of as many millions more of the subjects of foreign powers with whom the interests of our great commerce in the Indian and Pacific Oceans impose on us the closest and most delicate international relations. This want has now been efficiently supplied by the Rev. Mr. Hughes. His present publication is a complete Cyclopædia of the dogmas, rites, ceremonies, and religious customs, and of the technical and theological terminology of Islam. It is also much more than this, being a very good biography of Islam, although it does not profess to touch on the subject, which has already been disposed of for Englishmen by Slanes' translation of the great bibliographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikan.

As Mr. Hughes is a clergyman, who for over twenty years has been the Church Missionary Society's agent at Peshawur, in the Punjab, he might be suspected of making this book the vehicle of a controversial attack on Mahomedanism; but, in truth, its absolute impartiality is its most conspicuous merit. In looking through Mr. Hughes' pages we have only noticed one very slight inaccuracy, and it is the attribution of the description of the celebration of the Mohurram, in Bombay, extracted from "The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain," by Sir Lewis Pelly, to the graphic pen of that distinguished officer, now M.P. for Hackney. It was, however, as Sir Lewis Pelly very carefully stated, written by Sir George Birdwood. In conclusion, we cordially recommend Mr. Hughes's valuable, and most fascinating volume to all

young Englishmen serving in India, or engaged in Egypt under the Government of the Khedive, and to all our fellow-countrymen who realise that the stability of the British empire entirely depends on the knowledge, and the sympathetic spirit in which it is administered.

The Administration of India.

Anyone who exposes with some right of knowledge the mis-statements so generally circulated about the English administration in India, and which are so readily caught up and clothed in eloquent language by Mr. Bright, confers a useful service calling for frank recognition. A work of this character is Mr. H. A. D. Phillips's "*Our Administration in India*," just published by Messrs. Thacker & Co. It relates specially to the province of Bengal which is the favourite battle-ground of the pessimists and detractors of English rule, who fancied that, because Asiatic topics were generally tabooed, Englishmen would listen to any calumny of their fellow-countrymen in the East. Mr. Phillips would have been wanting in insight as well as spirit if he had not stood up for his order; and the facts which he records must, in the long run, tend to refute the allegations of the sworn enemies of the Indian service. Beyond that, it is impossible to entertain a hope. The zealots who have banded themselves together to decry English administration are proof against argument. The most cogent reasoning, the demonstration of the simplest facts, will not wring from them a single admission that they have erred in argument and authority. The task of convincing these men of their errors is impossible. They should be ignored and left to expose their own follies. Those who know the facts, as Mr. Phillips does, must address themselves to the English people, and the surest way to win public opinion is to give the true state of the case in moderate language and without exaggeration, and to record the facts in as interesting

a manner as possible. Mr. Phillips has brought together a quantity of really instructive particulars relevant to his subject, but he would have been better advised if he had taken less notice of those he assails. What they thirst for is notoriety, which, beyond a small coterie, they have not attained, nor will they ever attain it, save through the indiscriminating notice of those who expose obvious blunders of fact, and denounce the wild ravings of political passion or personal spleen.

Arminius Vambéry.

Many persons will be thinking this Christmastide of a suitable book to present to boys home from school, and, as our special mission is to increase the interest in all Asiatic things, and to make them popular, we have looked out for a work that would answer this purpose. We find it almost ready to our hand in the Boy's Edition of the life and adventures of Arminius Vambéry, which Mr. Fisher Unwin has just published. We have no hesitation in saying that an ideal work sketched by our imagination as to what a Central Asian traveller and author should do, and what an English schoolboy would expect, could not answer our main purpose better than this autobiography of the former dervish and the present professor. Professor Vambéry's life possesses all the spice of adventure, without which the best-intentioned book will fall flat in a boy's estimation. We recommend this Boy's Edition on the ground that it is a good book in itself, and also because we know of no other work more calculated to create an early interest in our special subjects.

* Our Summary of Events is unavoidably omitted through pressure on our space. Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.—
Ed. A. Q. R.

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Asiatic Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1886.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPLYING FEMALE MEDICAL AID TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

THE little account which I now propose to give of the National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India* is not a record of work achieved. The Association is in its infancy, and has as yet founded no hospitals, endowed no institutions, trained no doctors; it has merely announced its existence, organized its constitution, formulated its aspirations, and received and laid by for the moment the money subscribed by its well-wishers; but as it has met with a very warm reception in India, and as many, both here and in England, who are interested in the subject, have no means of learning more about the Association than is conveyed to them by its name, I think it may be agreeable to them, and useful to the Association, if I endeavour to give some details with regard to its origin, its organization, its aim and intentions, its special difficulties, and its future prospects.

* The first Report of the National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, can be procured at Messrs. Hatchard's, Piccadilly, and Messrs. Thacker and Spink's, Calcutta.

I should have preferred to leave this task to an abler and more practised pen ; but as I am the person most responsible for the safe conduct of the National Association through its first difficulties, and as every letter and paper concerning it has passed through my hands, I think that it is perhaps better that I should make an attempt to write its short history myself.

When I was leaving England, Her Majesty the Queen-Empress drew my attention to the subject, and said that she thought that it was one in which I might take a practical interest. From that time I took pains to learn all that I could of the medical question in India as regards women, and I found that although certain great efforts were being made in a few places to provide female attendance, hospitals, training-schools, and dispensaries for women ; and although missionary effort had done much, and had indeed for years been sending out pioneers into the field, yet, taking India as a whole, its women were undoubtedly without that medical aid which their European sisters are accustomed to consider as absolutely necessary.

I found that even in cases where nature, if left to herself, would be the best doctor, the ignorant practice of the so-called midwife led to infinite mischief, and might often be characterized as abominably cruel. It seemed to me, then, that if only the people of India could be made to realize that their women have to bear more than their necessary share of human suffering, and that it rests with the men of this country and with the women of other nationalities to relieve them of that unnecessary burden, then surely the men would put their shoulders to the wheel, and would determine that the wives and mothers and sisters and daughters dependent upon them should in times of sickness and pain have every relief that human skill and tender nursing could afford them ; and we, women of other nationalities, who are not debarred by custom or religion from employing doctors, and who have, in addition to medical aid, every variety of scene and occupation to turn

our minds from our own sufferings, we surely too should feel a deep sympathy with our less fortunate sisters, and should each one of us endeavour to aid in the work of mitigating their sufferings.

I thought that if an association could be formed which should set before itself this one single object, to bring medical knowledge and medical relief to the women of India, and which should carefully avoid compromising the simplicity of its aim by keeping clear of all controversial subjects, and by working in a strictly unsectarian spirit, then it might become national, and it ought to command the support and sympathy of every one in the country who has women dependent upon him.

With this idea, then, of forming a National Association to provide medical relief for the women of India, I wrote to Mrs. Grant Duff, Lady Reay, Lady Aitchison, and Lady Lyall on the subject, and received their cordial support. A short time after a prospectus was drawn up, and was published in various languages all over India, the Association was named as above, and the money collected was credited to "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund."

The warmest possible response was given to the appeal; the Press was almost unanimous in its approval of the prospectus, and the matter was so favourably alluded to in addresses presented to the Viceroy by municipalities in various towns which he visited during the autumn, that I have reason to feel assured that the Association has not been forced upon the people, that it is not premature, and that it proposes to supply a want which the men of this country were beginning seriously to recognize.

The idea was indeed so kindly received that very few objections or unfavourable criticisms were made upon it. It may, however, be well to say something with regard to those that have come before me. A few persons maintain that the women of this country do see medical men professionally. In reply to this I think I may safely say that they never do except in the last extremity, and that the

doctor so admitted to a Zenana enters with his head in a bag, or remains outside the purdah feeling his patient's pulse, but unable to make any of the necessary examinations. Others simply state that the women do not want doctors at all, and that therefore any scheme for giving them medical relief is unnecessary and quixotic. To refute an argument properly one should understand it, and I confess I do not understand this one. It seems to me simply to point to the total abolition of doctors, and to the extinction of medical science altogether. If women do not want doctors, then men can do without them. If the strong man who has only ill-health, diseases, or accidents to fear needs their services, surely the weak woman, who adds to all these liabilities the pains and troubles of child-birth, needs them too.

I do not think, however, that as a rule men deny themselves medical advice; and I have even heard it whispered occasionally, that a man thinks a good deal of his own little aches and pains, and can be somewhat nervous over an unaccustomed twinge. This may be a libel; but it is true that in India, as elsewhere, men have all that they require in the way of medical advice, while the women here have not, and the object of this scheme is to remedy an accidental injustice.

Another criticism made upon it is that it is "official," official in this connection being used as a term of reproach.

The National Association receives no Government aid, and care has been taken to make no personal appeals for subscriptions; but that we who have started this scheme are more or less official is true, and I cannot help saying that we rejoice that our position in the country is such as to give us special advantages in organizing a work which we sincerely believe to be for the good of its people; but, at the same time, we are honestly desirous that the Association should become unofficial and truly national, and we are making every endeavour to place it upon a really popular basis. We are merely birds of passage here; and if the

work is to go on and prosper, it must gradually be taken out of our hands and be undertaken by those who live in the country, and for the benefit of whose women it has been begun.

This brings me to the organization of the Association. Its general affairs are managed by the Central Committee, of which I am President, the other members being :

The Honourable C. P. Ilbert,
C.S.I., C.I.E., Member of the
Viceroy's Council.

The Honourable Sir Stuart Bay-
ley, K.C.S.I., Member of the
Viceroy's Council.

A. Mackenzie, Esq., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home
Department.

Surgeon-General B. Simpson,
M.D., Sanitary Commissioner
with the Government of India.

Maharajah Sir Jotendra Mohun
Tagore, K.C.S.I.

Syud Ahmed Khan, Bahadur, of
Allypore, C.S.I.

C. H. Moore, Esq. (Messrs. Gil-
landers, Arbuthnot and Co.),
President, Bank of Bengal.

And the money subscribed to it constitutes "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund." In connection with it, branches have been formed at Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, Burmah, the Central Provinces, Bengal, and Mysore. Committees have been chosen: and branches of "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund" have been opened. Each branch association is, for all financial and executive purposes, entirely independent, but it is expected to adhere to the principles of the National Association, and it is asked to contribute a small percentage on its receipts to the Central Fund.

This percentage is considered partly as a link to maintain the national character of the Association, all parts of the country contributing to aid the poorer districts, and partly as a subscription towards the publication of the report, the correspondence, and other minor expenses.

In almost all the places where branches have been formed public meetings have been held and large mixed committees have been elected.

It has also been arranged to encourage existing institutions, and organizations having the same medical work in

view, to affiliate themselves to the Association, allowing them at the same time to retain their full independence. This arrangement will principally affect Missionary Societies, but it will also be applied to large female hospitals or dispensaries, or medical schools which, having been established before the birth of the Association, have their own funds and their own rules, and cannot, therefore, be bound by those of the National Association.

These affiliated institutions may obtain grants-in-aid from the Association, and the schools will certainly benefit by the increased number of pupils entering them, while all affiliated societies will share whatever advantage is to be gained by the annual publication of their reports, and by finding in the Association a common centre of reference and information.

I do not think that it is necessary to give the general reader any more detailed account of our constitution, and I will, therefore, pass on to the aims of the Association as set forth in its prospectus. The first on the list is—

- 1.—*Medical tuition*, including the teaching and training in India of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses, and midwives.

I have placed this object first, because the necessary training for any one of these departments of medical work being long, it is absolutely necessary that it should be begun at once; and although, for the present, we must rely mainly upon the services of English and American ladies, and though I might almost say that for ever they will, probably, be required here in considerable numbers, yet we must look to India herself for a large, and what I might call wholesale, supply of female doctors in the future. A great country like this can never be fully supplied with physicians from abroad, and, like women of every other nation, the Indian woman will naturally prefer, whenever it is possible, to have her own compatriots as medical attendants.

In the case of midwives, the need for training natives is still more urgent, and a good supply of ordinary sick

nurses must be specially valuable in a country where the patients for whom they are intended are practically without medical assistance.

The second object of the Association is—

II.—*Medical relief*, including (a) the establishment, under female superintendence, of dispensaries and cottage hospitals for the treatment of women and children; (b) the opening of female wards under female superintendence in existing hospitals and dispensaries; (c) the provision of female medical officers and attendants for existing female wards; (d) and the founding of hospitals for women where special funds or endowments are forthcoming.

Although we have placed this long list of requirements second, yet there is no doubt that medical relief must go hand in hand with medical tuition, and that dispensaries and hospitals are as necessary to our students as they are to our sick. In framing this paragraph, however, it was of the latter we were thinking, and the benefits accruing to the former are incidental. We are most anxious to establish dispensaries, because we consider that in no other way can so large a number of women be relieved. The beds in a hospital must always be proportionally few, and will probably be only filled by those who are suffering from serious illness; whereas all the minor maladies can be treated, and the work of prevention, which is better than cure, can be admirably carried out in a dispensary; besides, dispensaries are comparatively cheap, and I fear that cheapness is a consideration to which we must pay the very greatest attention.

They have one other advantage in this country; they lead the native woman gradually to appreciate the relief offered to her; at the dispensary she gets to know the medical officer personally, and to value her services, so that when a hospital follows, it is no longer so great and terrible an effort to her to go into it.

As to hospitals and female wards, it is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon their importance, and the great desirability of establishing them wherever it is possible to do so. This is not a matter upon which there is any difference of opinion, and, were it not a question of money, the Association would set to work at once to supply so evident a want; but, unfortunately, the building of a single large hospital would swallow up the whole Central Fund in one capacious mouthful, and even a ward would make a serious hole in its resources; therefore the prospectus prudently adds to the "founding of hospitals" the saving clause "where special funds or endowments are forthcoming."

III.—*The supply of trained female nurses and midwives for women and children in hospitals and private houses.*

This relates to women who have passed the stage of tuition, and who, whether native, European, or Eurasian, are qualified to undertake the duties of their profession; the Association will endeavour to place these in the ordinary manner, and there is nothing special to be noted on this point.

I may now glance at the special difficulties which are met with in starting this particular work in India. In setting before ourselves the task of carrying a great reform into the very inmost homes of the people, we are anxious scrupulously to respect their own wishes and their own religions, and even their own less sacred opinions and prejudices. We wish to force nothing upon them, and to suggest nothing which can do violence to their feelings, or which can be said to tamper in the very slightest degree with the seclusion and the privacy in which Oriental women live.

The National Association's one aim and aspiration is to bring to the women of India better health, freedom from unnecessary pain, and all the comforts and alleviations which science has discovered, and which the ministering hand of doctor or nurse can supply; but each single custom

which has to be considered adds to the difficulty of the undertaking. The laws of caste meet one at every turn, and the many different languages spoken are all so many stumbling-blocks in our path.

It is impossible for any one who has not been brought face to face with these difficulties to realize how great they are; such a person is in the same state of blissful ignorance as the not uncommon individual who vaguely says to a friend: "I am going to spend a year in India, what sort of clothes shall I require?" without ever stating whether he is bound for the highest peak of Simla, or for the baking plains of Sukkur. India is India to him; and although he asks the question, he probably feels assured that a transparent garment of some sort will be comfortable everywhere. Such a person taking up this question for the first time fancies that it must be all plain sailing. He sees himself in imagination dealing with a little country like Ireland, establishing one lady doctor here and another there, building a hospital in one place and opening a dispensary in another, the work all being done with very little trouble, and with much satisfaction to himself. But if the same individual were told that he had to deal with the whole of Europe, instead of with a little bit of it, he would find that what was suitable to Russia was disapproved in Spain, and that his plans for Stockholm did not work at Rome. India is as large as Europe, its languages are as numerous, and its peculiar customs are more rigid and more difficult for a stranger to become acquainted with. But the difficulty is not insurmountable. The branches of the Association localize the work and assure the introduction of medical relief into each province in the way most pleasing and most suitable to the conditions of its people; and it is sincerely to be hoped that as the men of the country have expressed their approval of the scheme, they will lend their strong right arm to carry it through, and will aid us with the special knowledge required to do so successfully, warning us when we tread on dangerous

ground, and showing us how to make our efforts most effectual.

We have also to take into account the possible disinclination of the women to avail themselves of the medical relief we wish to give them. I believe most of them will welcome it gladly, but to some it will come as an innovation of which they do not see the necessity. Their mothers and grandmothers have lived and died without such relief, and experience does not tell them of its advantages. The native woman is known to be patient, gentle, uncomplaining, long-suffering, and unselfish to a degree, and it might be difficult to rouse her to do anything for herself, but she is also a devoted wife and mother; and if she can be made to understand that her own good health is necessary to the well-being of her house, and to the bodily strength of her children, I feel sure she will use her influence to forward our work.

It will take longer to accustom her to the idea of medicine as a profession, and so far only women of the lowest caste will undertake the office of midwife; but I hope the day will come when the work of bringing health to the sick, ease to those in pain, alleviations to the incurable, will be considered so honourable a task as to give the women who undertake it a special place in the regard and esteem of the people.

Even in England, however, our land of progress and good sense, prejudice stood out for many years against lady doctors and lady nurses. It is twenty-five years since Miss Nightingale first startled, and somewhat shocked, the world with her new idea, and she lives to see the well-trained nurse considered a necessity and a blessing, while the ladies who adopt the profession are no longer esteemed eccentric and unfeminine. Surely, then, we must have patience here, and must neither be discouraged nor surprised if those for whose benefit we desire to introduce this new system are somewhat slow in acknowledging its advantages.

A last difficulty is that we start our medical work with scarcely any supply of doctors, midwives, or nurses to hand. There is not one single native female doctor ready, though about forty are now being trained. A few East Indian ladies have been educated at Madras and have all the necessary qualifications; to two of these I have already been able to offer appointments, but the country itself is, undoubtedly, unable to supply even the present demand for well-educated doctors, well-trained nurses, and efficient midwives. We are thus seriously handicapped at the outset, and we have to look to England to help us in our difficulty.

I may say here, as I am often asked my opinion upon the matter, that I think India does offer a fine career to English women who enter the medical profession. They will be wanted as doctors, and they will be wanted as teachers, and we cannot make any real progress in our work here without their assistance; but to the further question, "How many lady doctors shall I be likely to want?" which is put to me by many correspondents both in England and America, I am unable to give any very accurate reply.

As I have remarked before, the growth of this movement must be slow, and it may be many years before doctors for women are regarded as absolute necessities; but I do think that almost at once a certain demand for their services will be created; and I hope that within a year several may be sent for.

In fact the only difficulty in placing many of them at once is again that terrible question of money. Each one who comes must cost us £500 or £600 a year, including passage-money, salary, and other expenses, and this sum is not to be found everywhere; at any rate, not until medical relief for women ranks in the minds of the people of the country as an imperative want.

Persons in England also often apply to me for aid in carrying on their education as nurses or doctors, express-

ing at the same time their wish to come eventually to India; but I have in every case replied that, so long as nurses and doctors are to be found ready trained, we have no right to spend money upon educating them, and that, in fact, we never can spend anything upon "medical tuition" out of India.

The National Association is founded upon the principle that it is to be strictly unsectarian, and the consideration of this point comes appropriately next to the question of difficulties; for, although nothing seems more easy theoretically, in practice we find ourselves constantly stumbling up against it; and the reason of this is that, having strongly at heart the organization of a system of medical relief for the women of the country, we are yet obliged sternly to keep aloof from almost the only organization for the purpose which exists and is already in working order. Scattered over various parts of the country there are missionary ladies, with dispensaries or small hospitals, doing an immense amount of excellent medical work, and ready to do more if only they had the money necessary for enlarging the field of their labours. These little dispensaries, and the doctors already there, speaking the language, having acquired the confidence of the people, with that religious and self-sacrificing spirit in their hearts which enables them to work for the good of others without thought for themselves, would have been of the greatest possible help to us; but we cannot employ them, and it is absolutely necessary to abstain from so doing, for we are bound in honour to use the money subscribed on the faith of our unsectarian principles, in such a way as to satisfy the most exacting critic.

As, however, it is rather important that our exact position with regard to the medical missions should be understood, I will try to explain it. In answer to questions which were put to the Committee by a missionary lady who is in charge of two dispensaries in Bengal we replied in the following terms:—

I.—The National Association cannot employ missionaries, nor can it provide hospital accommodation in which it is intended to combine medical treatment with religious teaching.

It may, in certain cases, be glad to avail itself of medical missions as training agencies, and may occasionally attach an assistant to a mission dispensary in order to give that assistant the benefit of further training on leaving college under a lady doctor's supervision; but in such cases it would have to be clearly understood that the assistant's duty would be strictly confined to medical work.

II.—No officers in the employ of the National Association can be allowed to exercise a missionary calling.

III.—The National Association cannot undertake to provide funds for the travelling expenses, or establishment of medical missionaries.

We have thus stated clearly that we cannot aid missionary work; but while we are compelled to stand aloof from the medical missions, yet we have a philanthropic work in common, and we certainly have no wish to be considered antagonistic to them. We cannot help them, but I do think that the policy of the National Association with regard to them should as a rule be one of non-intervention, and that we should leave them undisturbed in places where they are already established, except in the case of very large towns, where there is room for a second medical establishment, or when the municipality or the inhabitants of the district supply the funds necessary for obtaining the services of another lady doctor; then it would be our duty to aid such a locality in procuring the desired medical assistance.

After this expression of our intentions it will naturally be asked what advantage either we or the Missions will derive from their affiliation to the Association. I reply that we shall gain by acquiring through their reports a real knowledge of all the medical work that is being done

throughout the country, instead of only knowing what we do ourselves; and they, I think, will profit by the greater interest excited in the question of female medical work in India, and by the greater publicity given to their own efforts in this direction.

So far the Missionary Societies are inclined to think that they have lost income by the inauguration of my fund, because people either say that "the Countess of Dufferin's Fund can do the work," or they complain that they are being asked to give twice to the same object; but I do not think any habitual subscriber to the Medical Missions has diverted his gift into my treasury, and, as the Missions received no pecuniary help from it, the persons who are interested in them have just as much reason to subscribe to them as they had before.

It is now time to say something as to our intentions and prospects, and the way in which we propose to carry out the objects of the Association. In doing so I shall cease to talk of the National Association as a whole, because the branches are independent for all financial and executive purposes, and each one of them is actively engaged in forwarding the work in its own province. I shall, therefore, speak only of the Central Fund and of the Central Committee.

As far as I can make out, the money subscribed over the whole country is about three lakhs—a sum which ought to be £30,000, but which, owing to the low rate of exchange, is really only £23,000; of this the Central Committee have the disposal of over one and a half lakhs, or £12,000. This is not a very large capital considering all that there is to do with it, but it has been collected in a very few months, and in this case money does not by any means represent the general interest in the scheme, or the work done since its promulgation.

A few examples will illustrate my meaning. The Maharajah of Ulwar has started a dispensary under female supervision, and has given two scholarships; the Maharajah

of Durbhunga has asked me to lay the foundation-stone of another which he is about to build; a third is to be established by Rai Badyanath Pundit Bahadur at Cuttack; female wards have been promised to Lady Lyall for the Agra College, which will each bear the name of its donor; at Delhi the municipality intend to build a female ward and to place it under a lady doctor; several scholarships have been given by Sir Walter de Souza; and all this, and much more, has been done without touching the Central or any Branch Fund. Moreover, I sincerely hope to see the municipalities and the local boards showing increased interest in the question, each one doing something substantial for the benefit of the women within their jurisdiction. Through them really rapid advances might be made, and a permanent and self-sustaining character would be given to the work.

But the Central Committee means to do something, and I will endeavour to give an idea of the plans we have under consideration. As the greater part of the money subscribed to the Central Fund comes from the Independent States and from the poorer parts of the country, the Committee has to consider how it can best benefit them. With a view to forwarding our first object, that of medical tuition, we mean to aid and improve the Agra Medical College and, if possible, also to start a small model training school at Jubbulpore, which shall be entirely under female supervision, strictly purdah in its arrangements, and to which we hope girls of good caste from the Independent States may be induced to go for medical education. At both these places it will be necessary to establish female hospitals, and we look forward trustfully to the day when "special funds" may be forthcoming to build them.

We shall in every place make use of every means we can find to train midwives. As I said before, I consider this a most urgent need, and except at Umrítzar, where Miss Hewlett, a missionary lady, has really succeeded in training them in considerable numbers, I cannot find that

hitherto the experiments in this direction have met with any great success, and indeed until lying-in hospitals are open, there is no way of teaching them in large numbers. I hope, however, that we may find some means of giving them even a little education, for although I fully appreciate a well-trained and first-rate nurse, yet I think that when a midwife is so bad as to jump upon her patient by way of accelerating her recovery after her confinement, then the training sufficient to teach such a practitioner to leave the woman alone would be extremely desirable, even if it went no further. It is not possible in an article like this to give more examples of their malpractices. The above represents a system and is not an isolated case; it gives some idea of the terrible incapacity of the ordinary midwife, and of the great necessity there is to improve her, and it explains why I advocate doing all we can with the material that we have at hand, ignorant and prejudiced though it be. If we wait until our candidates can read and write and do arithmetic, and undergo a two years' professional course of study, we shall be postponing the general good longer than is necessary. In this case "*le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*," we must not refuse to improve because we want to perfect; we must be content with a midwife who does no active harm for the present, hoping with time to license only those who are really well qualified for the post. Meantime the Central Committee think it might be possible to retain the services of two fully qualified midwives, who could be employed at some central place when not otherwise engaged, but who, when sent for, would be ready to travel to any distant place where they might be required.

We are also anxious to promote sanitary instruction in girls' schools, and to aid in the publication of primers and of small books, such as are brought out by the Ladies' Sanitary Association in England, and which may be useful to women in zenanas. We believe that simply written chapters on the "Health of Mothers," "The Management of Babies," the value of fresh air and the mischief of bad,

what to do in case of little accidents, &c., would be read, and would prove extremely useful; but here one of the former difficulties comes in—not only will each book have to be translated into various languages, it will also have to be specially adapted for each different part of the country; some steps are already being taken to carry out this idea.

These proposals are modest indeed, and our aspirations do not soar much higher than our programme, whose wings are weighted by financial considerations; but it must be remembered that the efforts made by the Central Committee are only a small part of the work doing throughout the country in furtherance of the aims of the National Association. In Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, in Mysore, and in Burmah, the work is going on, and Assam, which is unable to form a branch, is about to send students to Calcutta.

It is not within the scope of this article to give an account of what has been doing in India of late years; but I should be sorry to give the impression that no previous efforts had been made in this direction, and I cannot pass over in silence the splendid generosity which has supplied Bombay with dispensary and hospital, and has procured for it the services of one of our most distinguished lady doctors, or that of those gentlemen in Madras whose munificent gifts have enabled a large caste hospital to be established. Madras has also been forward in the work of medical tuition, and can already supply a certain number of trained doctors, nurses, and midwives.

We believe, however, that every effort already being made will be stimulated by a national movement, while encouragement will be given to others to go and do likewise; the experience of one place will be useful to another, and a bond of sympathy will be created between persons working for a common object. I trust also that a feeling of kindness and good-will may be generated by an Association which has been started by women for the benefit of their own sex, but which should appeal to the best feelings of the

men of this country. We have met with much encouragement so far, but we realize that the work we have in hand will require many years of faithful endeavour to bring it to a successful issue. We know that we must begin it gently, and, having sown the seed, must tend it with patience and perseverance, feeling grateful and hopeful as each green leaf appears giving promise of a future abundant harvest.

HARRIOT DUFFERIN.

February 1, 1886.

THE MEETING OF INDIA AND CHINA.

THE annexation of Burmah has not only added a large province to the English Crown, but it has also brought India and China face to face as they were never brought before. The meeting of India and China is a more important event than the addition of Thebaw's kingdom to our Empire, and the best efforts of our statesmen should be devoted to the task of making the new contact between two great dominions and peoples the starting-point of harmony and peace. Unfortunately an impression seems to have gained ground in official and unofficial quarters that this task was an easy one, that China was waiting with open arms for our officers and traders on the Yunnan border, and that the Peking Government, having made up their mind, as some people in London have done, that the English alliance was indispensable to the very existence of China, would acquiesce in the disappearance of the Burmese state, and would gratefully pick up the smallest crumbs of comfort we might condescend to leave from our sumptuous repast on the Irrawaddy. Never had an opinion less justification. The task is one of the most difficult and delicate that can be imagined. The Chinese, far from waiting with open arms the advent of foreign traders on their southern and south-western borders, are still doubtful as to the policy of admitting them at all, while the sooner people get rid of the notion that the alliance of any outside nation is necessary to the security* of China the better it

* As a proof that China is not dependent on the goodwill of any outside Power for her existence, I would recall the reply of Prince Kung to Lord Elgin's threat to destroy Peking, and would ask the reader to remember that the spirit which prompted that reply in the lowest straits of adversity and

will be for the chances of the Emperor's Government adopting a rational line of conduct towards the nations of European culture. The difficulties of the position will not be removed or overcome by ignoring them, and it would be foolish to suppose that the Chinese have brought forward claims and given expression to certain expectations unless they had formed the resolution to realize some portion of them, or at least to resent their refusal. In the following lines I shall endeavour to show what these difficulties are, and to make clear the urgent need of discovering some means of reconciling English and Chinese views on the Upper Irrawaddy.

It is desirable, and indeed necessary, in the first place, to state briefly what the Chinese consider to be their historical rights in Burmah. That state is and has long been regarded as a tributary to Peking. The Chinese had no reason to suppose that *quantum valeat* it would ever have been challenged, until the recent campaign placed English troops in possession of Mandalay. But when it became known, through an article in the *Times*, that China considered she had an interest in Burmah, several distinguished Anglo-Indians, both anonymously and with their published names, came forward to deny that Burmah had ever been tributary to China. They relied on the Burmese, who strongly repudiated any dependence on China or any one else, and on the Court Historiographer's account, translated by Captain Burney, of the war in 1767-9, representing the Burmese to have been the victors. They

peril is not likely to be dead now that China is stronger in her internal condition than she ever was before. Prince Kung wrote: "The words in the despatch under acknowledgment regarding the attack on and destruction of the capital and the downfall of the Dynasty, are words which indeed it is not fitting that a subject should use. Can it be right for the British minister, when declaring that he still entertains a desire for peace, to employ them? If a war to no purpose is to be carried on so long as troops are left—a struggle which is not to cease—then, though the British Government has the troops it has in the field, China has yet, besides the stout hands in her forces here at present, her troops from beyond the frontier and those which it will behove her to move up from the different provinces."

ignored the opposite account of that war, given by another English envoy, Dr. Crawford, and by the Chinese historians. These contradictory narratives were quoted and appealed to, and in order to show the value of Burmese history the historiographer's account of the English campaign in 1826 was rescued from the obscurity in which, for its merits, it might have been allowed to remain. It is not, perhaps, surprising that these counter arguments were regarded as inconclusive and unconvincing by those who had pledged themselves to the statement that Burmah never paid tribute to China ; but it is certain that they produced a modification of opinion in the highest spheres of diplomacy, where there had been throughout Lord Salisbury's tenure of office an unaffected desire to come to a harmonious understanding with China, if it cannot be said that any great skill was shown in attaining that object. The practical point that has, after all, to be decided is, not whether China's suzerain rights are of a substantial character if tried by a European standard, but whether they constitute in the eyes of the Chinese themselves a tangible and valuable possession. Now on this subject there never has been and there cannot be a doubt. Whatever Burmese historians and witnesses may advance to the contrary now, the mission of the King of Ava has always been received and treated at Peking as coming from a dependent prince. There never has been any secrecy about it, and it is somewhat late in the day to turn round on the Chinese and declare that their claims on Burmah are purely visionary. The question being one in which our decision will be dictated by a sense of justice, it follows that we are bound to accept as the clearest and strongest evidence on the subject the views and facts publicly held and asserted by the Chinese long before there was any talk of our active intervention in Burmah. We can only ignore that evidence by appealing to superior force, and by the fixed resolve to put an end to China's suzerainty in the same way as Thebaw's sovereignty has been annihilated.

The recognition of the fact that the price of disputing and denying China's claims over Burmah is the future hostility of that country will be the most efficacious argument to convince those who pin their faith to the Burmese historiographer's narrative of the advisability of arranging the difficulty in an amicable manner. Even among those most sceptical of the validity of the Chinese case, I question if there is one who regards with unconcern the possibility of the Chinese being ill-disposed spectators of our task in pacifying Burmah. That task, under any circumstances, has its perils and must prove a work of time; but it will be extremely onerous if the Chinese play in the matter any part short of benevolent neutrality. Nor was there ever any justification in fact for the statement that the claim of suzerainty was put forward rather "for the Chinese" than by themselves. It is not even necessary to suppose that there had been any interchange of opinion between those qualified to express the views of the Chinese Government and the writer of the article in the *Times* on "China's Interest in Burmah," for several weeks before its publication Lord Salisbury had admitted that China had rights in Burmah, and that they would be respected. If there was any delay* in giving diplomatic expression to China's wishes and expectations, I imagine that it would be explained by the confidence felt in Lord Salisbury's spontaneous declaration. If further explanation were needed it might be found in the absence of an English minister from Peking. That delay was at most one of days, but when the Chinese minister in London first made representations on the subject, it was doubted whether he possessed the necessary powers, and still more, whether there was any valid reason for changing the scene of discussion from Peking to London. A reference through

* There was no delay! Since writing the above I have learnt on the highest English official authority that as far back as 3rd November, or a week before Lord Salisbury's speech, the Taungli Yamen were much exercised about Burmah. The *Times* article was not published till December 14th. This ought to finally dispose of the statement that the claims of the Chinese were put forward rather for them than by themselves.

Mr. O'Connor, the *chargé d'affaires* at Peking, to the Tsungli Yamen strengthened the belief that the Marquis Tseng had assumed a function for which he had no warrant. But this uncertainty was soon cleared up, and in favour of the Chinese ambassador. It was found, as has been written, that "the Tsungli Yamen had made a little mistake." The Marquis Tseng had received full authority from the Chinese Regent and her advisers to represent their views with regard to Burmah at St. James's, and the Foreign Office had to acquiesce in the discussion, and, let us hope, the settlement, of the Burmese frontier question in London, and not at Peking. The moral of this duel behind the scenes is obvious, and should be taken to heart, as it only enforces earlier experiences. The Tsungli Yamen in the Chinese executive is only a vehicle of communication with the Western nations, and not a department of the Imperial Government possessing a power of initiative.

Those who are aware of what occurred after the recognition of the Marquis Tseng as a plenipotentiary will not make the reproach against him that his statement of the Chinese case was either vague or hesitating. In it was found the positive and confident assertion of China's right to receive tribute from Burmah—a claim in support of which the Chinese Government stated they could, if required, bring forward documentary evidence. In face of this formal expression of Chinese opinion, it can hardly be contended that, as a distinguished Anglo-Indian and member of the India Council has asserted, the claim to suzerainty was put forward rather on behalf of China than by China herself. But the Chinese want more than the continuance of their receipt of tribute, or perhaps they want more because they see the little likelihood of its being continued. The equivalent of a surrender of principle and of some sacrifice of dignity they believe is to be found in the acquisition of territory and in the establishment of their authority on one part of the Irrawaddy. It will argue some boldness to say that they are wrong, but it was hardly to be expected that

when the mere suggestion on the part of an individual to surrender Bhamo to the Celestials raised a small hurricane of opposition, the Chinese ambassador, bold man as he is known to be, would have had the temerity to put forward a claim, not to Bhamo, but to the whole of the border districts between the Irrawaddy and the Salwen, as far as the Shweley river. This stream becomes about sixty miles from its point of junction with the Irrawaddy, the actual boundary between Yunnan and Burmah. The Marquis Tseng's proposition is, therefore, to continue the same frontier westwards to the Irrawaddy. By this step Bhamo and the country sixty miles south of it would pass into the hands of China. To my mind, the only unfortunate part of the proposition is that it should have been claimed by a Chinese ambassador, instead of conceded by the English Government. Had the offer been promptly made, the cession of Bhamo alone would have sufficed.

But it will be said that the demand of the Chinese minister leaves his Government as far off as ever from realizing their meditated prize, because there is no intention of complying with his request. The utmost that the English Government could be brought to yield would be a Chinese settlement at Bhamo, similar to Maimachin at Kiachta, and every facility for traffic on the Taping river. The question had reached this phase when the late change of government occurred, and it may be doubted whether the political atmosphere is favourable to the chances of a calm and judicious solution of a negotiation which has reached what seems a dead-lock. Delay will only add to the difficulties of the position, and the more firmly established English authority becomes at Bhamo, the more difficult will it be for us to allow it to be superseded. The uncertainty felt as to the ability of the Yunnan authorities to govern any portion of the Burmese territory must necessarily be considered an argument for excluding them from it; and before any evidence likely to produce a more favourable conviction can be collected on the subject, the English occupation will have

become permanent, and irremovable. Whatever is done should, therefore, be done quickly, for the concessions made to satisfy the pride and frontier necessities of China will acquire additional value in the eyes of the Chinese from being made promptly and with a good grace. Even in the event of an unfavourable decision about China's pretensions it will be far better, and less harm will be done, if it be plainly notified that China's claims are to be peremptorily rejected and ignored. But No! political officials say, such plain speaking would wreck the Chinese alliance.

If the Chinese request is not to be rejected without compromise, then the most careful consideration ought to be given to the Marquis Tseng's demand for the country down to the Shweley river. This, he says, will satisfy his countrymen. Is it no little thing to know what will satisfy China? A great revolution has been effected on one part of her frontier. A weak Asiatic state, which never dared invade the mountain barrier of Yunnan, and which observed all the forms of respect paid by an inferior to a superior, has been suddenly destroyed, and in its place has been established the most powerful of European Governments so far as China is concerned. Is it surprising that the friendliest words of our Foreign Office have failed to convince the Chinese that this metamorphosis may not be fraught with peril to themselves? or that they should require some material guarantee against contingencies, at the least rendered possible by our annexation of Burmah? Before returning a point blank "No" to the Chinese demand, our Government ought to take into consideration the view of Pekin as well as that of Calcutta. They ought, above all things, to measure the inevitable, if remote, consequences of refusal. On this point alone the merits of the question might be reduced to complete simplicity. The prospect of an accord and alliance with China is pronounced most attractive, and it must not be dimmed by any rough speaking, while the Chinese, the most practical, suspicious, and persevering of people, are to be kept quiet and thoroughly satisfied with soft,

fair words. That is one proposition involving two things inconsistent with each other. The other proposition is that China may ask too much, that her claim to tribute from Burmah is absurd, and her demand for the Shweley river as a boundary is exorbitant; but at the same time that these home truths are expressed in London and at Peking, the pacification of Burmah may be confidently expected as far as the mountains of Yunnan and the Salween, while the mere denial of China's pretensions will not entail the loss of that expected commerce with South-western China which is to prove the modern El Dorado of Lancashire and Bengal. It seems to me that the latter proposition contains two statements fatally destructive of each other. I hold it to be as certain that China would in the latter case pursue a rigid policy of exclusion, as that in the former she will refuse to accept soft, fair words as an equivalent for substantial rights. I hold the situation to be one of the greatest gravity, and one in which the truest friendship finds the plainest and most unequivocal expression; for in dealing with the Chinese Government we may accept as an infallible maxim, that the alienation of sentiment implies an inevitable rupture. A series of fortunate but fortuitous circumstances have tended to establish an opinion that the interests of England and China in Asia are identical. Do those who have most promoted the idea realize how completely it will be dissipated by dissension on the Yunnan borders, by the publication of the fact to the world that India and China have only met to disagree? That disagreement once established can only end in one way—the assertion of English power, and the cherishing of another grievance by China. We are masters of the present; China has, perhaps, better reason to regard the future with complacency. I do not wish to lay any special stress on the fact that China, rejecting the English alliance in resentment, might attach herself to Russia, because I believe that the rivalry of England and Russia will have been decided before China will be in a position to take any more prominent part in that great struggle than the main-

tenance of her own rights on a common frontier with the Czar of 5,000 miles. But the conciliation of a country like China now that her dominion and that of India touch on a passable frontier for the first time in history, is not a matter that affects the next generation alone. An amicable settlement to-day means peace in the future, while dissension at the very commencement must entail permanent discord and hostility.

I cannot help regretting the failure to propitiate the Chinese by falling in with their demands, and I deplore the loss of the opportunity of disarming their suspicion by even an excessive generosity, because I am firmly convinced that the Chinese instinctively dread the prospect of unrestricted trade between British territory and Yunnan, and that nothing is further from their wishes than that "opening of South-west China" which has set all the factories of Lancashire and Birmingham alive, at least with expectation. The one chance of disarming Chinese suspicion, and of enlisting the hearty sympathy of the Government in the work, was to have given Peking as prominent a part in the re-arrangement of Burmah as ourselves, and to have propitiated her goodwill by tangible sacrifices. There were practical inducements also. The present frontier of Yunnan can be rendered almost as impassable as that of Tibet. The readers of Dr. Anderson's works will not need to be told how easily this could be accomplished. For a considerable distance inland from Mowmen Yunnan presents features deterrent to the traveller and unfavourable to trade. Mr. Colquhoun has ingeniously proposed the turning of these obstacles by adopting a route east of the Salween. The suggestion of one of the most practical and worldly wise of modern explorers shows how serious those obstacles must be. Of course with the same spirit animating both Governments those difficulties might be overcome, but they supply the most powerful weapon to the hands of the Government wishing to be obstructive. For this reason it was and is most desirable that China should be drawn out-

side the mountain barrier which gives her two alternative policies. Established at Bhamo or on the Shweley river, the Pekin Government would have given hostages to fortune which could not be reclaimed. The power of that singular Government is absolute with some strange limitations. It can prevent trade on the Yunnan border by an edict compared to which a Czar's ukase is waste paper; yet once the tide of Chinese migration had set in for the Lower Irrawaddy valley, it would have been helpless to check or arrest it. The fear of this immigration into British territory seems to have oppressed some minds with a sense of extreme peril, but it is difficult to see why Chinese labourers should be more formidable on the Irrawaddy than at Hongkong and Singapore. Moreover, the Chinese who would come down towards and into our territory would not be the propagators of empire, but the seekers of labour. The Emperor's authority would be restricted to a few civil mandarins and a small guard at Bhamo. While the advantages of the Chinese coming down to the Shweley river would be obvious, the disadvantages are conjectural and fantastic, and I do not suppose any one will accuse me of minimizing the importance of Chinese antagonism.

The advantages of this policy would not be limited to its satisfying Chinese expectations, and allaying their suspicions. By their own act the Chinese Government would have been committed to an attitude of friendship and commercial reciprocity towards us in Burmah, and apart from the surrender of the territory between the Shweley river and Yunnan, there would be no disadvantage from a trade point of view in carrying on the traffic at either Bhamo or any other place down the Irrawaddy. But the greatest advantage of all would be that China would be thus deprived of the alternative policy of excluding our traders and representatives from behind the convenient barrier of Yunnan. On the present frontier it is quite possible for China to give practical expression to her dissatisfaction. On the Shweley or at Bhamo, it would be impossible for her to pursue a

policy of exclusion. Her settlements at Bhamo and on the Shweley must always be under our complete command, and she would have virtually no choice but to go hand in hand with us in the task of pacifying the border districts, and in making the Irrawaddy the avenue of a rich and expanding trade. The recommendations in favour of ample concession to China are of a most practical character as well as supported by considerations of the intrinsic rights involved in the case. They consist not merely in the belief that friendly compliance with China's requests will ensure goodwill, but in the absolute assurance that the grant of what China wants must be followed by her more hearty and energetic action in promoting the trade with South-west China, which is the principal object to be eventually attained.

For these reasons the hope must be still indulged that the Chinese claim to the Shweley river will not be summarily rejected, and that whatever form may be given to our concessions to Chinese susceptibility, some concessions will not be withheld. The Marquis Tseng has asked for the admission of China's suzerain rights, and for the advance of the Chinese frontier to the Shweley river. If he cannot obtain these points let him be offered some equivalent which will satisfy his Government. Obviously, the concession of a Chinese settlement at Bhamo, with rights of navigation on the Taping, will not suffice by itself, although it is possible that, so far as the Bhamo point alone is concerned, this might be deemed sufficient. But it will have to be accompanied by concessions elsewhere, and it is not an easy matter to see where these can be made without infringing on the rights of Siam. The suggestion has been made that the Shan States east of the Salwen supply a means of satisfying China, but this can hardly be deemed a solution of the difficulty, for we shall be giving what does not belong to us, and China's present frontier suits all her requirements. Why, Chinese ministers say, should we embroil ourselves with the Shans, the Siamese, and possibly the French? In any case, it is a matter

of urgency that the Chinese plenipotentiary should be assured of our sincere desire to come to an amicable agreement, and that compliance with the exact letter of his demands is not withheld because we deny or disparage China's past rights in Burmah, but because the present position of affairs in that country will not admit of their being again enforced. It is bad and short-sighted enough to refuse China's demands, but it is infinitely worse to wound her most cherished sentiments by telling her that those demands are based upon absurdities, and that we are resolved to accept the Burmese account of their previous relations with China, and theirs alone. Yet this is practically what has been done, and it is impossible not to feel that, at the same time that we have repelled the propositions of the Chinese Government, we have piqued their plenipotentiary. The details of this negotiation would more than bear out this supposition, but there is no use in dwelling on unpleasant and unfortunate particulars. In dealing with the Marquis Tseng, it would be prudent for us to remember that we are treating not only with the representative of Peking, but with, in all probability, the coming leading statesman of China. It would be no small achievement in itself if we could feel assured that the Marquis Tseng would return to his country with the conviction that the alliance of England must be beneficial to China.

The knowledge that the negotiation has miscarried, for, plainly speaking, that is the present state of the case, must confirm the original impression that the Chinese executive would feel an instinctive aversion to any close contact with a powerful neighbour on the Yunnan borders, and that this aversion could only be removed by the frankness and cordiality of the English Government. If those sentiments have not been exhibited it naturally follows that this aversion remains unchanged, perhaps even intensified by strengthening the earlier suspicion. The aversion of the Chinese to see their frontier in Yunnan march with that of a strong Power rests upon intelligible reasons. The autho-

riety of the Emperor has always been less firmly established in Yunnan than in perhaps any other part of his dominions. The most successful rebellions in Chinese history began in that province. In Yunnan, at all times, the Imperial administrators have been satisfied with a less implicit obedience than elsewhere. We may assign as reasons for this the natural difficulties of the greater part of the province, and the want of means of communication, or the character of the population influenced by the prevalence of Mahomedanism, or the presence of untamed tribes along an extensive mountain frontier. The combination of all these elements of danger in the same province has necessitated the adoption of a policy of forbearance towards the inhabitants of Yunnan, and of caution towards its neighbours. Forbearance did not prevent the Panthay rising; and once actual rebellion takes place, forbearance is no longer to be found in the Chinese vocabulary. Many Chinese are of opinion* that the necessity of caution was still more fully established by the conduct of the Indian Government in their relations with the Panthays, the successful rebels for a time against Chinese authority in Yunnan.

Before judging the Chinese harshly for continued persistence in the old policy of restricting commercial intercourse by land with India, every allowance should be made for the character of the province of Yunnan and its inhabitants, for, improbable as the permanent disintegration of China is, under any circumstances, it must be allowed that it is far more likely to occur in Yunnan than in any other province. The position of that province is isolated. It has a difficult frontier, not merely towards Burmah, but also on the side of its boundaries with the Chinese provinces of Szechuen, Kweichow, and Kwangsi. It also lies

* This opinion will be confirmed by the statement in Sir Henry Gordon's book, just published, on his brother, General Gordon, that in 1882 Li Hung Chang was incited by us and others to overturn the Peking Administration, and establish his own individual authority.

most remote from the centres of Chinese strength. The detaching of the greater part of this province from China would not be an extremely arduous undertaking, although it would not prove an easy possession to govern on any regular system of administration. The Chinese have, therefore, ground for the apprehension that, as a few Mahomedan fanatics were able to subvert their government, and hold the greater part of the province for fifteen years, there is nothing unreasonable in the assumption that the English could at any moment overthrow their authority if it were not exercised precisely as we wished. Moreover, it seems certain that a close connection with British Indian merchants, and the development expected to ensue in the mining industry of Yunnan, must tend to strengthen and increase the Mahomedan element among the population—an element instinctively hostile to the Chinese system. Although Yunnan is the second largest province of the empire, its population has never been great. At the most flourishing period, the Chinese census only claimed for it eight million people; and it was confidently, and perhaps credibly, affirmed in 1874 that, as the result of the Panthay rising, it had fallen to two millions. A large proportion, and on certain occasions, the majority of the people, have adhered to the tenets of Islam, so that the maintenance of the Emperor's supremacy has had to be accomplished in face of the latent antipathy of the people, as well as under exceptional difficulties of space and natural obstacles. These fears cannot be treated as chimerical. The Chinese may justify their demand for a material guarantee against the undermining of their power in Yunnan by a reference to these facts. The Government of India can no more bind itself not to exercise an injurious influence to Chinese rights and reputation by the example and energy of its proceedings in Burmah and Yunnan itself, than it could have pledged itself never to destroy the independence of the kingdom of Ava. The Chinese executive are alone in a position to judge what the injury, which would be inflicted,

so far as our present intentions go, unintentionally and imperceptibly, would be, and the very integrity of our present purpose should impel us to give ready compliance to China's wishes, even though we hold the opinion that they exceed what she is fairly entitled to.

Before rejecting the demand of the Chinese Government, made in their name by their plenipotentiary, the Marquis Tseng, the whole position of affairs should be taken into account. The annexation of Burmah should be considered from the point of view of how it affects China, as well as from a purely Anglo-Indian standpoint. The briefest reference to the facts of the question will show that China has vital interests involved as well as we, and the conquest of a large kingdom will not lose any of its value or effect by the cession of a single district to another Power. Once the point is admitted that China should receive compensation, it cannot be denied that the claim put forward to the Shweley river is as moderate a pretension as could be advanced. That river is already the boundary from Longha-nkoen to near Sehfan, and it cannot be denied that the Upper Irrawaddy, the Shweley, and the Salwen would form an excellent frontier for our new possession, leaving only a short distance of forty miles along the 24th degree of latitude, between the two last-named rivers, to be delimited. A brief consideration of the facts is sufficient to show that the Chinese Government, far from putting forward an exaggerated claim as one or two Anglo-Indians have argued, because they are pleased to term the suzerain rights of China in Burmah an absurdity, have been strictly moderate in their demand, and, what is still more to their credit, eminently practical. They have proposed the best working frontier to be attained with the least amount of trouble.

The question of the new Burmese frontier cannot be wisely settled unless regard be paid to the situation along the whole of the Indo-Chinese borders. India and China meet not merely on the Irrawaddy, but at numerous points

of contact from Siam to Cashmere. They meet, too, under very similar conditions at all points. Between them lies a mountain barrier and a thinly-peopled region, which presents an almost impassable obstacle in the way of intercourse between the peoples of India and China. It is needless to say that the opposition or secret dissatisfaction of the Chinese Government would add immensely to the efficacy of the natural division separating the respective authorities of Calcutta and Peking. The importance of this barrier is increased because Chinese influence has crossed it, and encroached within the natural limits of India. The Himalayan State of Nepaul is tributary to China. The suzerainty of the Emperor over the kingdom of the valiant Goorkhas has never been disputed, nor has the accuracy of the account of the 1792 campaign, which closed with an ignominious peace, exacted by a victorious Chinese general within a march of Khatmandu, been yet impugned. The chiefs of Bhutan are spiritually, if not secularly, dependent on Tibet, which is, again, not merely the vassal of China, but a province in her military occupation. These facts have never been challenged. They form part of the established rights of China, and they can only be ignored at the price of affronting her. Now it is most important that these facts should be borne in mind by those who are all in favour of rejecting the Chinese claims in Burmah; for we cannot be surprised if the Peking authorities see in our mode of dealing with them on the Irrawaddy the indication of what will be done elsewhere. In their eyes, whatever admissions those who say the Burmese beat the Chinese in 1768 may make as to the Chinese having vanquished the Goorkhas in 1792, their claim to regard Burmah as a tributary is not less clear and indefeasible than it is in the case of Nepaul. Whatever flattering tales may be spread as to the desire of the Chinese to cultivate friendly relations with ourselves, I affirm that they are illusory unless the Burmese difficulty is composed to their sincere satisfaction. China will cling to her pretensions in Burmah, not only for their intrinsic

value, but because they are identical with similar rights elsewhere, which must be surrendered or waived if they cannot be made good on the Irrawaddy. In denying the rights of China in Thebaw's dominions, we are assailing one of the most cherished of her traditions, and we are levelling a rude blow at one of the cardinal points of her trans-frontier policy. We have conquered Burmah without asking the Chinese to say yea or nay; and now, before that State is pacified, while its northern and eastern borders are held by defiant and truculent tribes, we are heedlessly outraging Chinese sentiment, and justifying the views of the less enlightened of the Emperor's advisers, who declare that contact with England in Burmah means sooner or later the undermining of his authority in Yunnan. If we aim at obtaining China's friendship and co-operation, our policy is short-sighted; and eventually it may prove dangerous too.

The Chinese have more than one reason to believe that now the Indian frontier has been pushed up to theirs we mean to energetically extend our trade with the adjacent provinces of China, and once that trade has been admitted, influences of another kind must follow. It is not merely in Yunnan that the boy-emperor Kwangsu sees that this responsibility and possible peril will have to be faced. In Tibet similar concessions and privileges have been asked, and, although the exact result of Mr. Colman Macaulay's mission to Peking is not yet known, it is understood that they have been granted at least on paper. It seems certain that we have asked for the right to introduce Indian tea into Tibet at a nominal duty, and apparently the Tsungli Yamen has not had understanding enough or heart of grace to refuse its sanction to what, were it carried out, would prove a death-blow to the brick-tea trade between Szechuen and Lhasa. The briefest reflection will show that, whether the opposition come from the Lamas, or the Chinese officials, or the Tibetans themselves, or whether a simpler excuse be found in Indian tea not being suitable to the palate of the people, the opening of Tibet so far as that im-

portant article is concerned to Indian traders is still far distant. Here again greater respect might have been shown for the vested interests of China, and the omission of all reference to tea, the monopoly of the Szchuen planters, would have increased the chances of trade in every other article of manufacture; for in these Indian interests would not have clashed with Chinese. With the best intentions in the world our mode of dealing with China is such as to fill the minds of her governing classes with the conviction that we are only seeking our own interests, and that while we talk glibly of our cordiality towards her, our words mean that we are to take what we like, whether by conquest or by concessions in trade, and that China is not merely to get no equivalent, except the advantage of trading with us, but that we are to force on her new conditions of internal administration which will add immensely to the expense and anxiety of ruling such provinces as Tibet and Yunnan, which are separated by thousands of miles and months of journey from the centres of her population and power. In Yunnan, as in Tibet, a great Chinese industry will also be menaced by the nearer proximity of India. I allude to the cultivation of the poppy, and unless China gets an easily guarded frontier, which can only be a river, the smuggling of Indian opium, not to mention its open importation, must seriously affect and reduce the demand for the Yunnan drug.

A brief consideration of these facts must, I think, convince every impartial person that China has justification for saying that she should receive some material guarantee against the possible dangers to her authority entailed by the annexation of Burmah. She is menaced in her rights as a Government, as well as threatened in her established industry as a people. The garrison of Yunnan will have to be trebled, the hill tribes, Kakhyen and Lolos, will have to be kept in hand more strictly than was ever before attempted or dreamt of, and the civil administration will have to be much more pure and efficient than there is any

reason to suppose it can be made, to ensure the maintenance of the Imperial authority in undiminished dignity. All this is a work of time, and before the result is attained a Mahomedan revolt may subvert the Chinese Buddhist government as it has been subverted before. The Chinese, rightly or wrongly, think that the Government of India would be more in sympathy with a Mussulman ruler at Tali-foo than a Chinese Viceroy at Yunnanfoo, and if their surmise were correct it is needless to add that a second Panthay rising would be more difficult to put down than its predecessor. The cultivation of opium, which forms the larger part of the revenue of the province, and which is the chief agricultural pursuit of the people, must be adversely affected, for no treaty arrangement will avail to prevent smuggling through the Kakhyen hills unless Chinese territory is brought west of them. On the other hand, it is asserted that China ought to welcome the change because it will stimulate the working of the Yunnan mines; but even were they to attain the high degree of activity anticipated, the result would still be of uncertain advantage to China, for she has found the Yunnan miners the most lawless and refractory of her subjects. Henceforth that province will have to be governed with the effort necessary to make its condition approximate in some degree to the state of order in an English governed country, and Chinese statesmen may reasonably dread the subjection of their authority inland to a new test for which, in truth, they are very ill prepared. It is for that reason they would like to face the experiment at a point beyond their present territory, and by advancing to the Irrawaddy north of Bhamo, and to the Shweley south of that town, ensure the restriction of trade to the Irrawaddy itself. Only in this manner can trade between India and China be initiated and carried on with safety to the latter Government. If it is not to be carried on in a manner agreeable to China, the Peking Government will direct its efforts to hindering trade altogether.

The demand of the Marquis Tseng for the new frontier

is evidently prompted by a friendly spirit as well as a just appreciation of China's necessities. He has propounded a plan which, as Chinese plenipotentiary, he declares will satisfy his country, and encourage her to admit English and Indian articles into Yunnan by land. Although the claim to tribute—which I deprecate in the strongest possible manner continuing in any shape or form—is still put forward, there is no doubt that complete satisfaction on the other and more material point would carry with it the withdrawal of this pretension, which might be finally disposed of for a sum of money. The rejection of his demand will involve a serious responsibility, but unless our official reply is modified or withdrawn that has already been done, and the English Government stands committed to the policy of holding the whole of Burmah without the sympathetic co-operation of China, and, indeed, in defiance of her expressed wishes and obvious necessities. The trade with South-west China, which might have been gained by more conciliatory action on our part, and by recollecting that China also is a great Asiatic Power, will have to be acquired by the strong hand, or consigned to the limbo of disappointed expectations. In either case the friendly relations of England and China will have experienced a rude shock, and the hope must be indefinitely postponed, if not abandoned, of the latter country adopting a liberal policy along the widely extended borders which she holds in common with ourselves.

The meeting of India and China on the Burmese frontier which was welcomed in anticipation, and which led to some sanguine hopes that it would manifest to the world the complete accord of two of the three great Asiatic Powers, has been followed in a very few weeks by the revelation of serious differences of opinion, and by our contradicting the arguments of Chinese statesmen, and denying the accuracy of their facts. Much mischief has already been done, but it can still be repaired. The frank recognition, not only of China's past rights in Burmah, but of her just claim to

receive compensation for the sweeping change that has been effected in the constitution of that kingdom, will not come too late even now, if it be the precursor of the substantial favours which the Chinese expect and demand. The denial of China's suzerain rights in Burmah, which were never questioned outside Mandalay before the late campaign, has created an abyss between the two Governments which will have to be filled up, if harmonious relations are to be established on the Irrawaddy and Salwen. Where a great object is to be gained, such trifles as the precise significance of the decennial mission from Mandalay to Peking should not be allowed to count. It is known that China regards it as a tribute mission, and as China's friendship is the prize to be gained, her view, if we are prudent and desire to attain our object, should be allowed to prevail over the vanity of Burmese historiographers and their panegyrists. But I hope the reader of this paper will see that, apart from all sentimental considerations, China has weighty practical reasons for wishing that her dignity should be preserved in this part of her dominions, and that her facilities for governing a turbulent province should be increased rather than diminished. It is only natural that she should wish for a share in the spoil and a port on the Irrawaddy. It is still more intelligible that she should desire a frontier that is clearly recognizable and that can easily be defended against smuggling and indirect invasion. She says that these objects will be attained by the acquisition of the Shweley as a boundary. If we think there is a better line, let us state what it is; but it is adding insult to injury to tell her to stay on the Nampoung when she is already across it, and when, moreover, she has long occupied a portion of the right bank of the Shweley itself. Let us by all means come to an understanding with China about her claims to tribute from states within the geographical limits of India, and having political relations with her Government; but do not let us deceive ourselves with the idea that China will surrender these legacies of the past without receiving an equivalent.

If we take the trouble to realize China's position as a great empire, there is no doubt that her claims will be at once admitted to be reasonable, and the price of concession on the Yunnan frontier may well be made the cancelling of the claims of Peking over Nepaul, which, historically speaking, are far weaker than those in Burmah. The main point is to show China that we are willing to consider her position and her difficulties, as well as her sentimental claims, and whether she gets the Shweley river, or more or less, the measure of the success or failure of our diplomacy will be the degree in which the Chinese are satisfied or dissatisfied with the new condition of affairs established on the Yunnan frontier.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THE SÚDAN ?

AN article on the Egyptian Súdán may, at first sight, seem somewhat out of place in a Review devoted to Asia. The Súdán, however, is connected with our principal line of communication with India through its influence on Egyptian politics, and our position in Egypt; and also through its port, Sawákin,* on the Red Sea. No permanent or effectual settlement of the Egyptian question can be attempted without taking into serious consideration the future of the Súdán. Any one, and there were some, who thought, during the earlier stage of our occupation of Egypt, that it was sufficient to say, "we will have nothing to do with the Súdán," must by this time be convinced that the Súdán is a very unpleasant reality which cannot be ignored. Millions of pounds have been spent, and thousands of brave men have laid down their lives, yet the Súdán problem is as far from solution now as it was in December, 1882, when Colonel Stewart was sent to Khartúm to report on the situation. The object of the present paper is to draw attention to certain aspects of this difficult question which do not seem to be properly understood, or appreciated, and to discuss some suggestions for its settlement.

The Súdán question is really that of the future of North-eastern Central Africa. If the reader will refer to a map of Africa he will see that the lofty highlands of Abyssinia

* The orthography recommended by the Council of the Royal Geographical Society has been adopted in this paper. Sawákin, "female residents," derives its name from a story that some women were once shut up in the island castle.

must always render the construction of a direct trade route from the basin of the Upper Nile to the sea impracticable. At present the only trade outlets on the east coast are Sawákin, in lat. 19° N., and Zanzibar, in lat. 6° S.; from the Equatorial Lakes commerce flows northwards to the former, and southwards to the latter. In the future, when some European Power has entered into possession of the delightful country at the feet of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, of which Mr. Thomson has given such a fascinating description, Mombasa* will draw the trade of the lake district, but this new opening for commerce would only slightly affect the trade of the Nile valley, which must always flow northwards. The natural trade outlet, not only for this extensive territory, but for the Niam-Niam country, and other districts to the west, is Sawákin, and this must eventually make that place the most important port on the western shore of the Red Sea. One of the most fertile causes of the recent disorders in the Súdán was the policy of the Egyptian Government, which aimed at forcing trade down the long Nile route to Cairo and Alexandria, instead of allowing it to take the shortest road to the sea. If Ismail Pasha had devoted one tithe of the money thrown away on the Wády Halfa railway to the improvement of the Sawákin-Berber road, and opened the country to commerce, there would probably have been no Súdán question, and the slave trade would have received a very decisive check. The policy of the Egyptian Government appears to have been based on the erroneous view that, if the Súdán trade passed through Sawákin, less benefit would be derived from it than if it passed through Cairo; and to have been partly influenced by the fear that, if Sawákin became an important port, the trade would to a great extent pass into the hands of Europeans, and excite

* The late General Gordon was one of the first to recognize the importance of Mombasa as the port of the highland lake district, and he urged the late Khedive to take possession of it. From various causes the project was never carried out.

the cupidity of some European Power. It was perhaps also felt that any Power wishing to bring pressure to bear upon Egypt might easily do so by blockading Sawákin and paralyzing the Súdán trade. There is little doubt, too, that one powerful argument in favour of the Nile route was the facility which it afforded to the quiet introduction of slaves into Egypt under the guise of wives and domestic servants.

The Súdán has been so roundly abused by some writers, and so over-praised by others, that its real character has been somewhat obscured. A country which stretches over twenty degrees of latitude, from Wády Halfa to the Albert Nyanza, and fourteen degrees of longitude, from Sawákin to the western limits of Darfúr, must necessarily possess great diversity of physical feature, climate, and produce. The Nile, after it escapes from the Albert Nyanza, flows, for 130 miles, in a sluggish stream, studded with papyrus islets, to Duffi. Here the hills close in upon the river, and as far as Lado, about 150 miles lower down, the country on either bank is a succession of rugged, wooded heights, and well-cultivated, undulating ground, broken by small park-like plains; the only real difficulty in the navigation of this section of the river is the Fola rapid near the confluence of the Asua. A large portion of the Equatorial province, of which Lado is the capital, is thickly peopled and well-cultivated; there is a large ivory trade, and the district, before the rebellion, was one of the most prosperous in the Súdán. North of Lado the Nile enters an almost boundless plain, where its waters spread out into a vast shallow lake, covered, in great part, by a floating mass of tangled vegetation so dense that in a distance of 360 miles, from Lado to Sobat, the bank can only be approached in two places. Through this great dismal swamp, the home of malaria, misery, and mosquitoes, the Nile preserves a tortuous but fairly defined course, except in those years when the channel becomes blocked by floating islands of grass. In the swamp the Nile

receives the Bahr el Ghazal, which drains a wide extent of country, to the west and south-west, that was densely populated before it was overrun by the slave-hunters from Khartúm. The northern portion of this district is swampy, but the ground rises towards the south and west and becomes very fertile; the natives possess large herds of cattle; there is abundance of ivory; and a trade, which might be greatly increased, with the Niam-Niam and Monbuttu countries beyond the frontier. Some miles below the confluence of the Bahr el Ghazal the Nile is joined by the Sobat, which rises in the Abyssinian mountain system, and is navigable to the station of Nasser, a distance of 190 miles. From Sobat to Khartúm the river runs through a great plain which extends from the foot of the Abyssinian mountains to the hills of Takalla and Kordofan. On both banks there is a strip of rich alluvial soil, of varying width, and in the Shillúk country the population is so dense that the left bank presents the appearance of a continuous village. The soil is here extremely productive, for, in addition to the rains, it is watered by the annual inundation and by irrigation; large quantities of dhíra are grown, whilst cotton grows wild, and could be cultivated without irrigation. Below Fashoda an almost unlimited supply of gum and *sant* wood might be obtained from the forests. Beyond the strip of alluvial soil, on the left bank, the savannah, or steppe land, over which the countless herds of the Baggara Arabs roam in search of pasture, stretches far away to the west; whilst on the right bank, as Khartúm is approached, are the fertile lands of Sennár. At Khartúm the White Nile, or Nile proper, is joined by the Blue Nile, which, after leaving the Abyssinian mountains near Fazokl, receives two important tributaries, the Dinder and Rahad, and flows through the most fertile portion of the Egyptian Súdán. The district between the two Niles is known as the "island (Hor) of Sennár," and up to the middle of last century it was the seat of a powerful kingdom extending northwards to Dongola and

Mahass; it is a great grain-growing country, whence it has been called the granary of the Sūdān, and cotton and tobacco culture have succeeded admirably. Fazokl is the locality whence the gold of Sennār is said to have been obtained; and the Dinder and Rahad flow partly through rich alluvial soil. From Khartūm the Nile forces its way down to Assuan, the frontier town of Egypt, through an arid sandstone waste, which is only relieved by small oases and grassy steppe lands such as those in the Bayūda desert. The river is bordered by a narrow strip of fertile land which supports an agricultural population, but beyond this the waste lands, inhabited only by nomads, stretch away westward to the great African desert, and eastward to the shores of the Red Sea. The only river that joins the Nile north of Khartūm is the Atbara, which rises in Abyssinia, and with its tributaries, the Gash or Mareb, and the Settit, flows through and waters the important province of Taka. The great fertility of the soil of Taka, and its capabilities for cotton cultivation, are specially noticed by Sir Samuel Baker in "*The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*;" and, before the rebellion, its capital, Kassala, ranked next to Khartūm as a centre of trade. A very large proportion of the provinces of Kordofan and Darfūr, to the west of the Nile, is desert, but they export large quantities of gum, ostrich feathers, and raw hides. The only feature remaining to be noticed is the Khor Baraka, which rises in Abyssinia and opens out into the plain of Tokar: the soil of this plain is very fertile, and some of the Hadendowa clans largely depend on its cultivation for their supply of grain.

The peculiar physical character of the country has a very direct influence on the trade routes. All the trade of the Nile and its tributaries south of Khartūm, as well as a large portion of that of Kordofan and Darfūr, passes, and must always pass, through Khartūm, whence it has the following routes to the sea: (1) By land to Debbeh (220 miles), and thence, partly by land and partly by water,

down the Nile valley to Assúan (525 miles) and Alexandria ; (2) by the river to Assúan, &c., only available for a short period at High Nile ; (3) by water to Berber (204 miles), and thence across the Nubian desert to Korosko (366 miles), Assúan (110 miles), and Alexandria ; and (4) by water to Berber, and thence by land (241 miles) to Sawákin. Of these routes, that by Berber and Sawákin is the quickest, the most direct, and the cheapest. The trade of the province of Taka, with the exception of a small portion that finds its way to Massowah, goes to Sawákin, and it is a trade that might be largely increased by the cultivation of cotton and grain if the road to Sawákin were improved. The trade of Northern Kordofan and Darfúr either reaches the Nile at Abu Gús, whence it is carried by land or water to Wády Halfa and Assúan ; or 'is carried by the long desert road direct to Assiút. At one time a considerable trade came down by these two routes from Wadaí, Bornu, and other districts to the west, but the Sultans of those places, alarmed by the conquests of Egypt in the Súdán, stopped all intercourse with Darfúr, and the trade has been diverted to the road leading northwards to Trípoli. The carrying trade on the routes north of Khartúm was farmed by the Egyptian Government to certain tribes. Thus the Hamr worked the road from Darfúr to Obeid, in Kordofan ; the Kabbabish that from Obeid to Abu Gús, Dongola, and Wády Halfa ; the Sowarab and Hauwawír that from Khartúm to Debbah ; the Ababdeh that from Berber to Korosko ; the Bisharin and Hadendowa those from Berber and Kassala to Sawákin ; and the Beni Amr that from Kassala to Massowah. The most important items in the export trade of the Súdán are—gum, ivory, ostrich feathers, wax, senna, hides, &c. ; and of the import trade, cotton and woollen goods, cutlery, Indian rice, &c. The value of this trade has been variously estimated : it is probably not far short of two and a half millions per annum, and it might be largely increased ; nearly the whole of it passes through Sawákin. This trade has been completely broken up and

destroyed by recent events, and many of the native merchants engaged in it have been ruined. The tribes which had the carrying trade in their hands must have felt this collapse severely, and, with the exception of the Hadendowas, they would no doubt be glad to see the country quiet again, and would do their best to encourage trade. Under these circumstances, if the Súdán were left to itself there would probably be a revival of that portion of the gum trade which came down, *via* Abu Gús and Wády Haifa, to Egypt; but it would be some years before it completely recovered, if it were ever able to do so.* The trade which passed through Sawákin would find greater difficulties in reaching the coast, owing to the irreconcilable attitude taken up by the Hadendowas, and it could never attain its former dimensions. A small trade might again spring up, but it would be conducted by armed caravans, and would pass partly through Kassala to Massowah, and partly through the Bisharin and Amarat country to Rowaya, or some port on the Red Sea near Mount Elba. If the Súdán were an unknown tract of Africa, these arrangements might perhaps suffice; but the country having once been in the possession of the Egyptians, the tendency must be to reoccupy it and restore the trade which has been destroyed. A country which has once been opened to trade cannot, in the nineteenth century, be permanently closed and allowed to relapse into a state of barbarism; whether we wish it or not, the course of events during the next few years will lead to the reoccupation of the Eastern Súdán.

A remarkable characteristic of the Súdán is the diversity of race found amongst its inhabitants; and this feature, as well as the geographical distribution of the various tribes, must be taken into account in any settlement of the country.

* At the time of the rebellion large quantities of gum were stored at Obeid, and there were small depôts of it in the desert lying west and south of the Dongola province. This gum will gradually come down the river, but its appearance in the market must not be taken as a symptom of the revival of the gum trade, or of the re-establishment of the machinery by which the gum was collected.

The races may be divided into four distinct groups; the Hamitic, Semitic, Nūba, and Negro—each of which has certain marked peculiarities.

To the *Hamitic* group belong the four Biga families—Ababdeh, Bisharin, Amara, and Hadendowa, and possibly the Kabbabish. The Ababdeh occupy a most important position, for they extend from the Nile at Assiān to the Red Sea, reach northwards to the Keneh-Kosseir road, and completely cover and protect Egypt on the south. They represent, with some of the Bisharin clans, the Blemyes of the classical geographers, and their *habitat* has changed little since the Roman period; they were in a state of almost constant warfare with the Romans, who at last adopted the policy of holding Assiān in force and subsidizing the frontier tribes. The Ababdeh have always been nomads and trade carriers; in the Middle Ages they conveyed pilgrims from the Nile valley to Aidhab, the port of embarkation for Jeddah; and when Muhammad Ali conquered the Sūdān, they rendered such important services as guides, and in providing transport, that the chief of one of their clans, the Fogara, was made guardian of the road across the Nubian desert from Korosko to Abu Ahmed; and Ababdeh colonies were formed at Abu Ahmed and other places in the Sūdān. The present chief of the Fogara is Hussein Pasha Khalifa, who, in 1884, was Governor of Berber, and had great influence not only amongst the Ababdeh, but also amongst the neighbouring Bisharin. As the movement in favour of the Mahdi spread, he made piteous appeals for assistance to the British and Egyptian Governments; and when the tribes round Khartūm rose, and no prospect of assistance was held out to him, he surrendered Berber with hardly a show of resistance; he was then taken to the Mahdi, and retained as a prisoner at large in his camp, until his escape last autumn. On arrival at Cairo he was given a sinecure appointment under the Minister of the Interior. The Ababdeh as a rule speak Arabic, having, from close contact with Egypt, almost lost

their own language; and those sections of the tribe nearest the Nile have a large admixture of fellah blood. In 1884-85 they were employed as an irregular frontier force in the Nubian desert, first under Colonel Kitchener, and afterwards under Major Rundle. They did their work well, though the conduct of some members of the Khalifa family was not as loyal as it might have been.

The position of the Bisharín is almost as important as that of the Ababdeh, for they occupy the country from the Nile, between the Atbara and Abu Ahmed, eastward to the vicinity of Mount Elba on the Red Sea, and hold the western section of the Sawákin-Berber road. They are nomads, and divided into several clans, some of which are closely allied to the Ababdeh; they speak the Biga dialect of Ethiopian, and have retained their purity of blood. The Bisharín have never taken a very active part in the rebellion; the clans in the vicinity of Berber were present at the capture of that city, but they did not leave their own district; and of the remaining clans some sent promises of submission to the Egyptian Government, whilst others remained neutral under great pressure, from Osman Digna, to join the Hadendowa movement. They have been large losers by the stoppage of all traffic on the Sawákin-Berber road, and would probably offer no opposition to a reinstatement of the Khedive's authority. The Amarars, who also speak an Ethiopian dialect, are divided into fourteen clans, and occupy the country from the Sawákin-Berber road between Hamdab and Ariab northwards to the vicinity of Mount Elba. A large proportion of the clans have remained neutral or loyal, and these have supplied the so-called "friendlies" at Sawákin. The Amarar are said to be bold and warlike, but they seem to have no leader who possesses any force of character. The Hadendowas speak an Ethiopian dialect slightly different to that of the Bisharín and Amarar; they are divided into twenty clans, and occupy the country from Sawákin and Ariab, on the Berber road, to the neighbourhood of Kassala, thus holding nearly the

whole of the Sawákin-Kassala road. The irreconcilable attitude maintained by the Hadendowas, and the extraordinary power of their leader, Osman Digna, are amongst the most remarkable features of the Súdan rebellion. The Hadendowas and Bisharin had ample cause for complaint against the Egyptians and the Khedivial Government: they carried merchandise on the Sawákin-Berber road, and were often obliged to take payment for the transport in cloth at the merchants' own valuation; and when Hicks's force passed through, they were most grossly swindled by the Egyptian officials, who, having agreed to pay them seven dollars per camel from Sawákin to Berber, only gave them one. They were deeply discontented; yet, before Osman Digna raised the standard of revolt in the Erkowit mountains, a dozen of them could have been easily dispersed by a single Egyptian soldier. The religious aspect given to the movement developed in men naturally peaceful and submissive, though superstitious, fanatical, and blindly devoted to their sheikhs, a desperate courage and powers of organization which have surprised every one who has been brought into contact with them; whilst clans, normally at feud with each other, have been welded into a strong confederation by the personal influence of Osman Digna. With the exception of some of the Amarars, none of the neighbouring tribes have joined the confederation: its importance is due to the fact that it commands the Sawákin-Berber and Sawákin-Kassala roads; and until it is broken up, or Osman Digna dies, the two great trade routes cannot be reopened. The plan proposed by General Gordon of isolating the Hadendowas, and raising the Beni Amr and other tribes against them, is no doubt the proper policy to be adopted. The key to the position seems to be the plain of Tokar, which may be called the granary of the surrounding country. If it were reoccupied, considerable pressure could be brought to bear on the Hadendowa, and some of the clans might possibly be detached from the confederation.

The Kabbabish tribe is perhaps the largest in the Sūdān, and its various clans range over a wide extent of country west of the province of Dongola, and from Abu Gūs to Obeid and the confines of Darfūr. Their language is Arabic, but their origin is obscure; they have a tradition that they came from the north-west, and they may, perhaps, be of Berber descent; but the question is complicated by the difference of type which appears to exist between the sheikhs and their followers. During the earlier part of the rebellion the Kabbabish remained neutral, but after the fall of Obeid, and still later, when the Mahdī advanced against Khartūm, several of the clans joined the movement, the others remaining neutral or loyal. There is a distinct antagonism between the Kabbabish and the true Arabs of Kordofān, and the clans which declared for the Mahdī seem to have been actuated more by tribal dissensions and love of loot than by any other motive. The representative sheikh was bitterly opposed to the Mahdī, who had put his brother to death, and if he had been a man of strong character, the tribe might have been kept together on the side of the Government. The Kabbabish own large numbers of camels, which are used in the carrying trade, and most of the tribe would at once rally to the side of the Government if an advance were made to reoccupy the country.

To the *Semitic* group belong the Himyaritic tribes of Beni Amr, Habbab, and others on the Abyssinian frontier, and the Arab tribes proper. The Beni Amr speak a dialect of Glz, but are widely separated from the Abyssinians by difference of religion. They occupy the country from the Khor Baraka to the sea coast, and have remained loyal throughout the rebellion. The tribe is much under the influence of Sidi Osman el Morghani, the great religious sheikh of Kassala, and played an important part in the defence of that place until December, 1884, when their representative sheikh, Ali Bey Bakhit, one of the ablest tribal leaders in the Sūdān, was unfortunately killed. Last year Colonel Chernside, by the exercise of great

tact and patience, induced them to work in concert with the Abyssinians. They are large rearers of cattle and sheep, and grow grain; and if Tokar were reoccupied they might be encouraged to settle on and cultivate the plain as a counterpoise to the Hadendowa.

The most important of the Arab tribes proper are settled in the Nile valley and in Kordofan. There are, however, two small tribes, the Ashraf and the Rashaida, on the Red Sea coast, south of Sawákin, which have remained loyal, and may still render important service. The tribes in the Nile valley, in upward order from Debbeh, are the Hauwawír, Shagiyyeh, Monassír, Róbatab, Hassaniyyeh, Awadlyeh, Jaalín, Shukríyyeh, and Batahín. The Hauwawír live in the desert along the line of the Debbeh-Khartúm road; they are of pure Arab descent, and have not intermarried much with the indigenous races of the Súdán. The representative sheikh was taken prisoner by the Mahdí, and kept in confinement at Omdurman, and a small portion of the tribe joined the rebellion, but the greater portion remained loyal, and gave some assistance in transport to the Nile Expedition. The Shagiyyeh are partly agricultural, partly nomad, and occupy both banks of the Nile, from Korti to near Birti, and a portion of the Bayuda desert. They claim descent from a certain Shayik, Ibn Humáilan, of the Beni Abbas tribe, and seem to have reached the Súdán in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Part of the tribe remained nomad, and is now known as the Sowaráb, and part intermarried with the indigenous Núba population and became agricultural. When the Súdán was first conquered they offered a stubborn resistance, but once vanquished, they joined the Egyptian army, and rendered important services in the conquest of Sennár. For these services, and others connected with the suppression of the Jaalín revolt, in 1822, they were granted lands on the right bank of the Nile, between Shendi and Khartúm, where many of them are still settled. The Egyptian Government always maintained several battalions of Shagiyyeh irregulars

or Bashi Bazūks, under their own officers, and some of them formed part of General Gordon's garrison at Khartūm. They are a curious, impulsive people, possessing many of the characteristics of both Arab and Nūba. During the rebellion they were much divided. The northern clans attempted, in the early autumn of 1884, to advance on Dongola, but were defeated by the Mudir of Dongola. Their action, however, seems to have been due to tribal motives rather than to affection for the Mahdi, as a bitter and long-standing blood feud exists between them and the Danāglas. They have latterly suffered much at the hands of the "Dervishes," and would not be sorry to see a settled government restored. The Monassir and Róbatab, which have also a strong admixture of Nūba blood, come next in succession; the former, by whose sheikh Colonel Stewart and the French and English Consuls were murdered, are, like the Shagiyeih, part nomad, and part agricultural. The latter derive some importance from their position in the great bend of the Nile, near Abu Ahmed. Both tribes rose against the Government, but one section of the Róbatab is believed to have done so unwillingly. The Hassaniyeh occupy the country to the east of the Korti-Matammeh road; and the Awadiyeh the Abu Klea desert. The former withdrew behind the range of Jebel Jilif on the approach of the British force, and only took part in small raids; the latter, who have many good horses, supplied the enemy with cavalry. Both are small tribes. The Jaalin is a large tribe partly agricultural, partly nomad. The agricultural portion is settled on the left bank of the Nile from Ghubush, opposite Berber, almost to Khartūm, and in some places on the right bank; the nomads are found on both banks of the river. Shortly after the conquest of Sennār, the Jaalin rose against the Egyptians, and burned Muhammad Ali's son to death at Shendi. The rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed, and the Jaalin were ever afterwards treated with distrust; they were rarely admitted to Government employ, or to the Bashi Bazūk force, and they were the first tribe near

Khartúm to declare for the Mahdi. They have no great reputation for courage. During the siege of Khartúm they formed part of the blockading force under Feki Mustafa, but do not seem to have taken much part in the fighting; and in the actions at Abu Klea and Gubat they formed the reserve and did not advance to the attack. To one of the clans of this tribe* belongs Zobeir Pasha, the only native of great ability that the Súdán has produced during the last twenty-five years. The Shukriyeh is a large tribe of nomads between the Athara and the Blue Nile; it remained neutral, and its sheikh sent friendly messages to General Gordon promising assistance. The promised aid, however, was never given, and on the advance of the Mahdi the tribe retired towards the borders of Abyssinia. The Batahín live on both banks of the Nile near Khartúm; their representative leader, Sheikh el Obeid, was a man of great influence, and the siege of Khartúm commenced on the day that he declared against the Government. Before the arrival of the Mahdi, nearly all the fighting round Khartúm was with this tribe, and it was at its hands that General Gordon's force received such a crushing defeat on the 4th September, 1884. Sheikh el Obeid died shortly before the fall of Khartúm, and was succeeded by his son, who is also bitterly opposed to Egyptian rule.

The Kordofan tribes, many of which are classed under the general term *Baggara* (cattle owners), have been, and still are, the disturbing element in the Súdán. They are true nomad Arabs, have intermarried little with the Núba, and have preserved most of their national characteristics. The date of their settlement in the country is uncertain, but they appear to have drifted southward gradually, and to have dispossessed the Núba and driven them to the hills. One of the most warlike of the tribes, the Duguaim, had only

* It was the hostility of the Jaalín, and their position north of Khartúm, which made communication with General Gordon so difficult: they intercepted nearly all the messengers he sent out, and most of those sent by the Nile Expedition.

reached the district on the left bank of the Nile, between Assiút and Assián, in the fourteenth century. The men are perfect types of physical beauty, with fine heads, erect athletic bodies, and sinewy limbs; they are hunters, warriors, and cattle breeders, and are far superior in mental power to the indigenous races. They are as susceptible to religious excitement, as brave, and as eager to seek the pleasures of Paradise on the field of battle as their ancestors were; and the warriors who charged the British squares at Abu Klea and Gúbat were no unworthy representatives of the Arabs who overran Persia, Syria, and Northern Africa. It is a remarkable fact that General Gordon, than whom no one had a more intimate knowledge of the Súdán, was mistaken in his opinion of the line of action which these tribes would follow. He believed that the risings in the Súdán would be local, and that no tribe, having freed itself from Egyptian rule, would leave its own district. He was right as regards the indigenous races, and those Arab tribes which had intermarried with the Núba, and lost their nomad character; but he failed to realize the depth of religious fanaticism which lies dormant in the true Arabs, and that they are as ready, at the present day, to follow a successful religious leader as they were in the time of the early Khalifs. As long as the Mahdí's success was doubtful the Arabs gave him only a qualified support, but his crowning victory over General Hicks brought them all to his standard, and when they followed him to Khartúm the fate of that city was sealed. The rebellion appears to have produced no Arab leader capable of founding a kingdom in the Súdán; tribal quarrels, hardly controlled by the Mahdí, have gathered fresh force; a counter-rebellion of indigenous, not Arab, origin is making progress in Darfúr and Kordofan; the agricultural population would gladly be freed from the wild Arabs who have come down upon them; and the old Egyptian slave army appears to be finding out that it is really the master of the situation. Success is essential to the Arabs; they have little staying power, and if a deter-

mined advance were made up the Nile they would soon retire to their desert homes.

The *Nūba* are an essentially agricultural people, and, as far as is known, indigenous to the country. They form the population of the Nile valley from Assūān to Korti, and are widely scattered over Sennār, Kordofan, and Darfūr. Between Assūān and Korti they are divided into three sections, *Kenūs*, *Mahass*, and *Danāgla*, all speaking the same—*Rotana*—language with certain dialectic differences. The dialects of the first and last agree more nearly with each other than they do with that of *Mahass*, which, on the other hand, is more nearly allied to the language spoken by the *Nūba* of Kordofan, the original stock of the race. The *Mahass* have also a smaller admixture of foreign blood than the *Kenūs* and *Danāgla*, who, owing to the presence amongst them, during many centuries, of military garrisons and colonies, have received a strong infusion of European, Asiatic, and Egyptian blood: the *Kenūs* especially are now a very mixed people. To the *Nūba* race belong the *Ghodiyat* and other tribes which form the mass of the agricultural population of Kordofan, and the *Kungāra* of Darfūr; but racial purity has been best preserved by the tribes of *Jebel Daier*, *Jebel Takalla*, *Dar Nūba*, &c. In these fastnesses the *Nūba* have maintained their independence against Arab and Egyptian, growing sufficient corn for their simple wants on the terraced sides of the hills. The *Nūba*, like all agricultural people, desire a settled form of government; and it is worthy of remark, that for eight centuries there was a *Nūba* Christian kingdom at *Dongola*; and that the *Funj* dynasty which ruled for so many centuries over the kingdom of *Sennār* appears to have been of *Nūba* origin.

The *Negro* race commences about 11° N. lat., and extends thence southwards. Details respecting the numerous negro tribes are unnecessary here; it is believed that most of them have risen against the Egyptian Government, but how far this has been connected with the *Mahdi* move-

ment is uncertain. They have been so cruelly treated by the Egyptians that they were no doubt glad of an opportunity to throw off the hated yoke, but they will not submit, for any length of time, to the government of the slave-hunting Arabs. The Shillúks and Dinkas, on the left and right banks of the Nile, at Fashoda, were treated with particular harshness by the Egyptians; the former were systematically plundered and sold into slavery by one Egyptian governor, and there is no doubt they would do their best to resist any attempt to reinstate the Khedive's authority.

A few words may be added on the Khatimiye^h, who play an important part in the undercurrent of Súdán politics, and on the old slave army. The Khatimiye^h belong to one of the many orders of Islam, and their head is known as the *Sir el Khatm*, "lord of perfection." The last *Sir el Khatm* was Sidi Hassan, whose tomb, near Kassala, is much venerated; an oath by Sidi Hassan's name is sacred amongst the order, and pilgrimages to his shrine are made by Moslems from all parts of the Súdán. The Khatimiye^h are strict Sunnis, and bitterly opposed alike to the non-Koranic teaching of the Mahdí and his disciples, and to the Sufuistic tendencies of many of the educated Súdánese. The object of the Khatimiye^h is to strive after perfection in religion, and to spread their tenets amongst the people. With this view mosques have been built and schools established in the villages; and nearly every Súdáni who can read and write has been instructed by a member of the order. The head of the Khatimiye^h at present is Sidi Osman of Kassala, who, amongst the forces at work in the Súdán, represents progress and civilization as opposed to stagnation and barbarism represented by Mahdíism. Khatimiye^h teaching was first introduced into the Súdán by Muhammad 'Osman, an Arab of the Koreish tribe, and descendant of the Prophet. He had three sons, one of whom settled in Mecca; whilst the second was Sidi Hassan, the father of Sidi Osman, and of

"the plucky ladies" of Gordon's Journal; and the third was Muhammad, father of the Sheikh el Morghani, who assisted us at Sawákin last year. It is difficult to realize the great respect paid to the members of this family in the Súdán, and they and their followers may still play an important part in its pacification.

The number of men belonging to the old Egyptian army now in the Súdán is believed to be about 15,000; most of them were slaves, but many unfortunate fellahin are still alive, working as slaves in various parts of the country. The blacks would almost certainly rejoin the Egyptian army in large numbers if an advance were made, for they cannot have any great affection for their Arab taskmasters, and would be glad to receive regular food and pay.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the population of the Súdán is partly nomad, partly agricultural, and that it is composed of a great variety of tribes, differing from each other in race, language, and feeling towards the Egyptian Government. It is interesting to study the effect of Egyptian rule on these diverse elements, and especially on those delicate relations which always exist between the agricultural population and the nomads. The nomads depend to a great extent on the agricultural population for their supply of food, and as long as that population is strong they are obliged to obtain it by fair barter; but directly the tillers of the soil become weak through internal dissensions, or the withdrawal of the force which should protect them, the nomads rush in to plunder, and soon reduce them to the position of serfs. When the Egyptians first entered the Súdán they found the fertile tracts well cultivated, and supporting a large population, lightly taxed, and fairly prosperous and contented. The Funj kingdom of Sennár was then in existence, though in a state of decadence, and the remainder of the country was split up into petty kingdoms, under "Meliks," whose power was sufficient to make them respected by the nomads.

By the conquest of these kingdoms the government of the country passed into the hands of the Egyptians, and the agricultural population became subject to their control; but, instead of encouraging agriculture, the one object of every official, from the Governor-General to the lowest clerk, was to screw as much money as they could out of the people for themselves and Cairo. The taxes were increased beyond the power of the cultivators to pay, and they were ruthlessly collected by Bashi Bazúks, who robbed an equal amount. The result was that an enormous quantity of land went out of cultivation, and the agricultural population was seriously impoverished; many persons were reduced to destitution, others had to emigrate, and the power of the native chiefs was completely broken. With the nomads a different system was adopted: a tribute was demanded from each tribe, and, as it could not be collected by the ordinary machinery of government, the duty of collection was entrusted to a sheikh. The Egyptian Government, on the one hand, looked to the sheikh for the tribute, and enforced payment by imprisonment, or an occasional raid on the tribe; and, on the other hand, the sheikh was granted certain privileges, and transacted all tribal business with the Government. The tribal sheikhs had thus ample means of enriching themselves, and many of them acquired wealth and importance which would not have been possible under other conditions. The tributes fixed were much too high, and there were always heavy arrears. This led to constant revolts and frequent raids by the tribes for slaves with which to pay the tribute. The natural tendency of the Egyptian system was to weaken and impoverish the agricultural population, and to increase the power of the nomads, but effectual protection was secured to the former by the presence of the Egyptian army. Directly that army ceased to exist, and the Egyptian administration came to an end, the agricultural population lay at the mercy of the nomads, who have not failed to take advantage of the situation. The sedentary tribes rose to free themselves

from the horrible tyranny and oppression from which they had suffered so much, but they are now finding out that they have only exchanged the whips of the Egyptians for the scorpions of the Arabs; and they have been so weakened, that they have no power of resistance. Unless some settled form of government is introduced from without, they must continue to serve their Arab taskmasters, and relapse into a state of barbarism. No leader has arisen capable of controlling the discordant elements, and, if the country is left to itself, many years must elapse before the lawlessness and unsettled habits engendered by the rebellion disappear.

Two subjects connected with the Súdán remain to be noticed—slavery and Abyssinia. There is no doubt that recent events will give a great impetus to slave-hunting and the slave trade, and that, unless the coast from Kosseir to Massowah is very much more closely blockaded than it is at present, there will be a large increase in the number of slaves exported to Arabia. Slavery is so interwoven with the habits and customs of the Súdánese, that it was a difficult question to deal with when the power of Egypt was supreme, and the problem has not been rendered more easy of solution by the evacuation. The difficulty may be inferred from the fact that in the southern districts of Dongola the slaves outnumber the indigenous population; and the same state of affairs exists in other places. The export trade in slaves to Arabia and Egypt may perhaps be stopped, or at any rate greatly checked, by a close blockade of the Red Sea coast, which would be a very costly service, and a more rigorous system of inspection and registration in Upper Egypt; but nothing can prevent a lively trade being carried on with the countries to the west and north-west of the Súdán. The only real chance of suppressing slavery is to open up the country to legitimate commerce, and to arm and organize the negro tribes, from which slaves are drawn, to resist the slave-hunting Arabs. The latter was General Gordon's project: and it

may be remembered that, before he went to the Súdán, he proposed, after visiting the posts on the Congo, to push forward to the Niam-Niam country, and train the people to fight the Arabs. He held the same opinion when at Khartúm, for in one of his telegrams he requested permission to retire, with the steamers, troops, &c., to the non-Moslem, negro districts, and hold them for the King of the Belgians against the slave-hunting Arab tribes. General Gordon considered it probable that one result of the rebellion would be a solution of the slavery question by the slaves themselves, who would turn against their Arab masters. Such solution is still possible, for many of the slaves are now trained to arms, and they have the power if they knew how to use it. The obstacle appears to consist in the difficulty of combination amongst men from so many different tribes, and in the want of a leader. It seemed not unlikely, at one time, that Núr Augara, the Nour Bey who deserted from Zobeir's son, to General Gordon at a critical moment, would assume the position of leader, but, as far as is known, he has now thrown in his lot with the Arabs.

The part which Abyssinia is destined to play in Súdán affairs is uncertain, but it is much to be feared that her present interference may lead to a religious war. The commanding position which Abyssinia occupies with regard to the Red Sea and the valley of the Upper Nile is well known; and, if it were possible to educate and civilize the hardy, warlike race that inhabits her mountains, a native state might be created capable of controlling and governing the most fertile districts of the Súdán. It seems to us that the development of Abyssinia, and the education and civilization of the Abyssinians under British auspices, should have been one of the principal aims of British policy in the Red Sea as soon as it became evident that our route to India lay through the Suez Canal; and we believe that if the wise policy proposed by Lord Napier of Magdala, after the close of the Abyssinian war, of educating a certain number of Abyssinians at Bombay, and of opening a port to them in the

Red Sea, had been adopted, considerable progress would already have been made in the work of civilization, without any direct interference on the part of England. It is now too late to think of this, for the Italians occupy Massowah, and if Abyssinia is civilized and gradually fitted to occupy the position in Eastern Africa, for which she is eminently qualified by her geographical situation, it will be under other influences than those of England. With what object the Italians have gone to Massowah we do not know; it is the port for Abyssinia, and not for the Súdán; and the trade from the latter country which now finds its way there will revert to Sawákin as soon as the Kassala-Sawákin road is reopened.

The history of Egyptian rule in the Súdán, and of the rise and progress of the rebellion, does not come within the scope of the present paper. The works of Sir Samuel Baker, Dr. Schweinfurth, and General Gordon show pretty clearly the character of that rule, and its fruits. No country was ever governed with such a complete disregard for the welfare and happiness of the people,* and it is well to remember that the higher officials, whose cruel despotic system of government ruined the country and caused constant revolts, were almost entirely men of Turkish, Circassian, or Albanian origin. The present rebellion, like those which preceded it, was the result of misgovernment. Its success was due partly to the support given to it by Elias Pasha, and other wealthy slaveowners in Kordofan, and by the Arab tribes which, in consequence of the steps taken to suppress the slave trade, could no longer pay their tribute in slaves: partly to the religious pretensions of the Mahdi; partly to the incapacity of Raouf Pasha, who succeeded General Gordon; and partly to the condition of Egypt at the most critical period. The Mahdi obtained his great power and influence by posing at the same time

* This does not, of course, refer to General Gordon's brief term of office as Governor-General—the only period during which any effort was made to improve the condition of the Sódanese.

as a popular and as a religious leader, but it was not until after the defeat of General Hicks that the movement acquired its distinctly religious character. It has sometimes been asserted that the presence of English troops in the Súdán adds fuel to the fanaticism of the Súdánese, and renders any peace negotiations impossible. This is untrue: the rebellion, both in its political and religious aspect, was directed against the Turks and Egyptians, and any hostile feeling against the English is as much due to their alliance with the late rulers of the Súdán as to difference of religion. The English are respected in the Nile valley as brave soldiers and kind masters, and if the Súdánese were called upon to choose between an English or an Egyptian government they would prefer the former.

We may now attempt to answer the question, "What is to be done with the Súdán?" To this we can only reply, that if the Súdán is to be reopened to commerce, and its trade of two and a half millions restored and increased; if the industrious agricultural population is to be protected from the nomads, and the country saved from a relapse into complete barbarism; if any real attempt is to be made to suppress the slave trade; if Egypt is to be freed from the periodical panics which necessitate the presence of a large British force in that country; and, finally, if we wish to get out of Egypt, there must be a partial reoccupation. The scheme which we should advocate would be—to reoccupy the Nile valley to the border of the negro territories, and the country lying east of it to the Red Sea and the frontier of Abyssinia; to establish armed trading posts, under proper control, on the banks of the Nile in the negro districts; to train the negroes to resist the Arabs; and to adopt a policy of non-interference as regards Darfúr and Kordofan. If this were done, the country would be reopened to trade, the agricultural population would be protected, and the most fertile districts would be made available for cultivation; whilst Darfúr would soon settle down under a prince of the old reigning family, and the

Kabbabish tribe would reopen the Kordofan trade, and at the same time cover the province of Dongola from the Arabs. The Sūdān, with its two outlets: Sawākin and the Nile valley, belongs geographically to Egypt; and that country, moreover, has a vital interest in the great river to which she owes her existence and present prosperity. Egypt cannot allow the control of the Nile to pass into other and perhaps hostile hands, and she should therefore be reinstated as the paramount Power. No one, however, who is acquainted with the details of Egyptian rule in the Sūdān, or with the atrocities perpetrated in the province of Dongola, under what has been humorously called the beneficent government of the late Mudir, Sir Mustafa Yaver, K.C.M.G.* could possibly desire an Egyptian re-occupation without some real guarantee for the protection of the natives from the merciless Turco-Circassian officials and Bashi Bazúks. The only effectual guarantee would be some form of European supervision or control over the reoccupation and subsequent government of the country, either by means of consular agents, or by the appointment of Europeans to responsible positions under the Egyptian Government; and if England remains in Egypt the duty of securing such control must rest with her. England having gone to Egypt for her own purposes, and suppressed a rebellion which was not only supported by a majority of the population, but had been carried to a successful issue with less bloodshed than usually accompanies revolutions in Eastern countries, cannot ignore the responsibilities she has incurred by her action. I have always looked upon the armed interference of England in Egypt in 1882, as both

* One instance will suffice. During the winter of 1884-85 the fort at Debbeh was garrisoned by a battalion of Bashi Haráks, all Turks, the refuse of Stambul, Smyrna, Salonica, &c., who had been turned out of Egypt by Lord Dufferin. These men used to make periodical raids on peaceful Dongolose villages, seize the women, and carry them off to the fort. When they were tired of the women they sold them to their officers, who re-sold them to the husbands and fathers at a handsome profit. It is not surprising that the Sūdānese were not quite satisfied with Egyptian rule.

unnecessary* and as a grave political error, and believe that British interests would best be served at the present time by a speedy evacuation, if such were possible without loss of honour and dignity. English statesmen, with all their varied experience of affairs, do not seem to have realized that in dealing with Oriental countries there can be no half measures; you must either abstain from all direct interference in the administration or annex; the attempt to steer a middle course has been one of the principal causes of the difficulties which have been experienced during the last three years. If Lord Dufferin's policy had been steadily carried out, especially with regard to the Súdán, we might now have been within a measurable distance of evacuation; but, consciously or unconsciously, nearly all that has been done since Lord Dufferin left Egypt has tended to render evacuation more difficult. We seem still as far from the desired end as ever, for we cannot leave Egypt until a stable government is established, and the Súdán question has received a permanent solution.

Before entering into any details connected with the proposed reoccupation of the Súdán by Egypt it will be well to examine the only alternatives. The position taken up last year was bad from a political and military point of view; for the most advanced post was in the centre of a Núbá district, and connected with Egypt by a long line of communication open to attack at many points. It was only justifiable on the understanding that it was temporary and preparatory to a move on Dongola when the cold weather commenced. There must be either a retreat or an advance. The adoption of the Roman policy of holding Assíán in force and subsidizing the Ababdeh has, at first sight, much in its favour; it is simple; the force for the defence of the frontier is concentrated instead of being spread over a long

* As long as England retains the command of the sea the presence of a large British force in Egypt is unnecessary; directly she loses that command a force in Egypt is useless, for it is locked up, and not available for service elsewhere.

line; and the boundary is drawn where the Egyptian and Nûba races touch each other. The immediate objection is, that it would bring the disturbing elements in the Súdán to the very borders of Egypt; and that the "Saidis" of Upper Egypt, who are as anxious to be rid of the Turco-Circassian Pashas as the Súdánese were, would soon become unsettled and render the government of the country much more difficult than it is at present. The arrangement would also afford greater facilities to those persons at Cairo whose delight it is to intrigue in the Súdán; and any native or unauthorized foreign agent at Cairo who wished, for political purposes, to raise disturbances on the frontier could easily do so by the expenditure of a few hundred pounds. Assúán could never be a permanent resting-place, for in a few years trade necessities would almost certainly be urged as a plea to advance to Wády Halfa, and thence southwards. Supposing, however, this policy to be adopted: what would be the result? It is no longer possible to carry out General Gordon's original scheme of restoring the country to the families of the petty chiefs who owned it at the time of Muhammad Ali. The scheme, moreover, was abandoned by General Gordon himself after his arrival at Khartúm, and it is very doubtful whether it could ever have been carried out, owing to the weakness of the agricultural population, the increased power of the nomads, and the changed conditions of the people. It is equally impossible now to establish a native state, under the suzerainty of Egypt, such as General Gordon proposed, with Zobeir at its head. After a long period of disorder it is possible that some man may come to the front with sufficient capacity to found a native state with the seat of government at Khartúm; or the Arab leaders may divide the country amongst themselves, and so form several small states. A large state, or a series of smaller ones, created under Arab influence, would naturally be not only slave-dealing, but aggressive; and Egypt would, for her own defence, be obliged to undertake the reconquest of the

Súdán under much more unfavourable conditions than those which now exist. An independent, barbarous slave-state in the Súdán would be a permanent source of danger to Egypt. It would be impossible to exclude from such a state European adventurers, or to prevent European intrigues which might at any moment create a condition of affairs that would render the position of Egypt intolerable. The presence of such a disturbing element on the frontier would be a constant source of anxiety to the European Powers interested in Egypt, for they could never allow that country to be overrun by Arab hordes, and would, for many years to come, have to make provision for her defence. It would also have a disastrous effect on the finances of Egypt, and it must not be forgotten that works might be erected in the Súdán which would seriously affect the volume of the life-giving Nile in its northward flow. A suggestion has been made that, as we are determined to have nothing to do with the Súdán, we should give up Sawákin to some other Power and allow it to restore order in the country. Turkey has been mentioned in connection with this scheme; but, apart from the question whether Turkey is willing to undertake a task which she would find much more onerous than the preservation of order in Arabia, has her government of subject people been so successful as to justify us in giving her the Súdán? To this there can be but one answer; and the only condition under which a Turkish conquest and occupation could be permitted would be strict European control. The questions connected with the occupation of the Súdán by a European Power other than Turkey, need not be discussed here; they resolve themselves into two: what would be the effect on our position in Egypt? and would it endanger our route down the Red Sea to India?

The proposal to reoccupy Dongola, and draw the frontier at Korti or Debbéh, which seems to find favour in Egypt, is a step in the right direction, if it is undertaken with a view to the ultimate reconquest of the Súdán. If

this is not the intention, it is open to the objection that it cannot be final; it would certainly remove the disturbing elements further from Egypt proper, and give protection to the Núba population against the Arabs, but it would bring the Egyptians again into contact with the Shagiyeh and other tribes to the south, and there would be an irresistible tendency to advance and regain the authority over them which was lost during the rebellion.

We believe that however undesirable the reoccupation of the Súdán by Egypt may be, from many points of view, the force of circumstances will render it necessary, and that prompt action will, in the end, be the most economical. If it were possible, the best plan would be to extend the direct jurisdiction of Egypt to Dongola and Korti, and either to hand over the Súdán to a company organized on the lines of the old East India Company, or to appoint a European as Governor-General, and maintain order with an army of blacks officered by Europeans. The reconquest of the Súdán should be undertaken by an Egyptian army, increased by several battalions, and officered on the same scale as it is at present by English officers. The Egyptian army, with proper increase, is quite equal to the task of reconquest; the unmerited abuse which has so freely been showered upon it has come from those who wished to prolong the English occupation, and from those who were bitterly opposed to Lord Dufferin's policy of creating an army which could not be used as "the blind and mechanical instrument of despotism," and which, from its composition, would convey a wholesome consciousness to those in authority that it was not "well adapted to subserve purposes of arbitrary oppression." The Egyptian troops have shown no want of courage in recent engagements in the Súdán, and their high state of discipline reflects the greatest credit on the English officers, who have trained them under most discouraging circumstances. Led by English officers, they are quite capable of meeting the Arabs on more than equal terms. Any attempt to intro-

duce the Turks into Egypt again, as has been proposed, will inevitably lead to a rising of a much more dangerous character than that of Arábi Pasha. The hatred which exists between the Arabic-speaking races and the Turks is ineradicable; the natural antagonism between the fellah and the Turk has been greatly increased since 1882; the fellah is no longer what he was in the time of Ismail Pasha; and the native element has been greatly strengthened by the fellahín soldiers who have been trained by English officers. To bring the Turk back to Egypt would be distinctly a retrograde movement; it would not only undo all that has been done during the last sixty years, but would be a reversal of the policy of Lords Palmerston and Clarendon, and most injurious to British interests in Egypt and the Levant.

The operations for the reconquest of the Súdán should be conducted by the Nile valley and from Sawákin. The first step would be to reoccupy Dongola, and, had the battle of Giniss been followed up, this might have been effected without another blow. Even now Dongola might be retaken without much difficulty by the Egyptian army, with the moral support afforded by the presence of British troops at Wády Halfa and on the line of railway. Dongola * once taken, it might be permanently held by fellahín troops which do not suffer from the climate until the region of periodic rains is reached. Preparations might then be made for a further advance by entering into negotiations with the adjoining tribes, and gradually drawing in and enrolling the old slave soldiers, most of whom would rejoin the Egyptian army if they had an opportunity. The next step, when the way had been prepared, would be to Berber, and in this advance very great assistance might be obtained from the

* Dongola, if properly governed, would soon become an extremely rich province. On the right bank of the Nile, south of Abu Fatmeh, there is an extensive plain formerly cultivated, and dotted here and there by the remains of old Egyptian villages or towns. The soil is the usual Nile deposit, and irrigation alone is required to bring many thousand acres again under cultivation.

Ababdehs who helped the Egyptians when they first entered the Súdán. The occupation of Berber would soon bring in the Bisharín clans, and enable steps to be taken for the complete isolation of the Hadendowa rebellion. The further advance to Khartúm and Sennár might be made when circumstances were favourable ; the two places would probably fall without any severe fighting. The operations from Sawákin would be limited to the reoccupation of Tokar, a close blockade of the coast, and a renewed attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Hadendowas by the creation of a counter-confederation of native tribes.

The pacification of the Súdán is a necessary preliminary to the establishment of a firm native government in Egypt, and we believe the difficulties and cost of the undertaking have been much exaggerated. Alternately to advance and retire, to make promises one moment and break them the next, is the worst possible mode of dealing with uncivilized people ; and, unless some consistent line of policy is adopted and adhered to, there will always be disturbances on the Egyptian frontier.

C. W. WILSON.

THE PUBLIC WORKS AND PROGRESS OF INDIA.

INDICATIONS are not wanting that a greater interest is each year taken by the public of this country in the internal politics and foreign relations of India. Whether this interest extends to the subject of Public Works may be questioned, but it is one which is not undeserving of the attention both of the general inquirer and of those who are anxious for the commercial and material progress of the country: The object of this article is to trace the history and effects of these works, and to inquire what bearing they have upon the question, Is India being governed for the benefit of its people?

More than a quarter of a century ago, when India was convulsed by the Mutiny, De Tocqueville remarked: "There has never been anything under the sun so extraordinary as the conquest and, above all, as the government of India by the English;" and, he added, "I am perfectly certain that they will keep it." That terrible storm beat against the house which had been built by the East India Company, and, although shaken, it triumphantly withstood the shock. Two very important agencies were instrumental in helping to check the severity of the outbreak, and ultimately in restoring order and tranquillity. The telegraph flashed a warning of the approaching conflict; the railway transported troops without delay towards the North-west Provinces; and both continued to render great service to the Government during the military operations. A better example of the political advantage of these works could scarcely have been afforded. Their extension since that time has had another and more

gratifying effect. They have helped to cement the constituent parts of the empire more firmly than ever, and, with other works of improvement, have produced such moral and material changes as could not have been secured by any other means.

"The country has been covered with roads, her almost impassable rivers have been bridged, 9,000^{*} miles of railway and 20,000[†] miles of telegraph lines have been constructed, 8,000,000 acres of land have been irrigated; and we have spent on these works in little more than twenty years, some £150,000,000. Our soldiers' barracks are now beyond comparison the finest in the world; quarters which twenty years ago had a reputation little better than that of pest-houses are now among the healthiest in the British Empire, and the rate of mortality among the troops is not one-half what it was. The improvement in the gaols and in the health of the prisoners has been hardly less remarkable. The cities and towns are totally different places from what they were. . . . All over India we have been building schools and hospitals and dispensaries. The natives of India have been admitted to a far larger share in the government of their own country. Municipal institutions, the first practical step in political education, have been established in all considerable towns in British India, and more than 12,000,000 of people live within their limits:" and "it is not the least remarkable part of the story that the accomplishment of all this work, and the expenditure of all this money, which have increased to an extent absolutely incalculable the wealth and comfort of the people of India, have added nothing to the actual burden of their taxation."

This is the language of the brothers Strachey (Sir John and General Richard Strachey), and is quoted from their work on the "*Finances and Public Works of India*," a most important treatise, exhibiting remarkable power and perspicuity as well as skill in mastering details, and showing conclusively that, during the ten years from 1870 to 1880, the expenditure in public works was in itself remunerative and assisted most materially to improve the revenues of the country, as well as to hasten the fiscal reforms which were so much needed for the benefit of the population at large.

The public works of a country may be defined as those which are designed for the use and benefit of the community, and those which are required for political and military, as well as for commercial, agricultural, and general administrative purposes. They include therefore all arti-

* Now 12,300.

† Now 23,300.

ficial means of communication, whether roads, railways, or navigable canals; works of irrigation, such as canals, anicuts, tanks, and wells; river and sea embankments, telegraphs, harbours, docks, lighthouses, fortifications, barracks, and civil buildings.

The art of engineering was not unknown in India in days gone by. Remains of irrigation works furnish evidence of the manner in which water was distributed by means of wells, canals, and minor channels; and the vast rock-temples and other ancient buildings testify to the possession of mechanical knowledge by the designers. The Moghuls saw the value of communications; and constructed, in a feeble way, roads for military purposes and royal journeys. Such roads were mostly mere tracks. Trees were planted and pillars erected to indicate the line, and whitened pyramids of stones were here and there placed as guides in the darkness. But if India had not been part of the dominions of a European Power, it is almost certain that the modern discoveries of the Western world, which have enabled the forces of nature to be subdued and controlled and time to be annihilated, would not have been applied to her. Capital would not have found its way to the country, and administrative skill would have been wanting. The British, however, had been long in possession of the country before any serious and systematic efforts were made to improve the communications. In the earlier part of their administration roads were almost unknown. The highway from Calcutta to the North-west Provinces was the river. The traffic between places in the interior was suspended during the rains, and was only carried on when the hardness of the ground made the use of animals and vehicles practicable. It became a matter of necessity that main roads should be established; and the Government, tardily enough, undertook their execution. No other agency possessed either the means or the will to perform the task. In the same manner and for the same reasons, canals, embankments, and tanks, as safeguards against famine;

breakwaters, lighthouses, and harbours, for the security and accommodation of shipping; and barracks for the comfort and health of troops had to be undertaken by the Central Government. But when railways, or other works of a productive character, were required, there was no economic reason why the necessity should not be met, as in this country, by a combination of those who were interested in their formation, and who on this account would be qualified to manage them, under proper regulations, for the benefit of themselves and of the community. In our own country we are accustomed to see private enterprise providing this want. In India, however, neither the means nor the inclination to embark in such schemes were to be found. But in England capitalists were ready with proposals. They required the co-operation of Government, and sought for direct assistance besides. They would not risk their money in undertaking what were regarded even by the authorities as experimental, and claimed the guarantee of a certain rate of interest on their investments.* In these circumstances many persons doubted whether it would not be better for Government itself to undertake the construction of railways as well as all other public works. But the question of how the funds were to be provided had to be considered. The expenditure hitherto had been met out of revenue. The late Sir James Weir Hogg, when Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, was once asked by an inquisitive guest at one of the great banquets given by the Court of Directors, whether there was any limit to the cost of such entertainments? "Yes," he replied, "the revenues of India." The Indian revenues, while equal to this demand, were not however able to meet the outlay on railways. It was impossible to charge the revenue of the year with the cost of such works, and, if possible, it would have been inequitable to have increased unduly the burden of the present generation to provide for posterity. Embarrassing questions of finance disheartened many, and those who were timid and doubtful were inclined to say,

"*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*" Fortunately there were others who took the opposite view; and at a critical moment there was a commanding spirit at the head of affairs in India, who, backed and encouraged by a majority of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, swept aside prejudices and fears, and boldly and earnestly took the subject in hand. Experiments and dribblets had been suggested, but Lord Dalhousie, in a masterly minute, strongly urged "a speedy and wide introduction of railway communication throughout the length and breadth of the land." It is curious and instructive to find another Governor-General four and twenty years afterwards, when upwards of 8,000 miles of railway had been completed, expressing the same sentiments.

"The incalculable value to India of her present railways," said Lord Lytton in 1878, "has been unmistakably demonstrated during the past year: and the Government is unquestionably bound to stimulate the extension of this class of works to the greatest extent, and with the greatest rapidity consistent with the requirements of financial prudence."

Lord Dalhousie in 1854 clearly perceived that the only way to secure steady progress was to employ an agency, separate in a certain degree from Government, which would proceed regularly and surely to carry out a specific work; and he recommended that companies should be engaged under contracts to undertake certain lines, selected as best suited for a system of arterial communication. That he was right in doing so has been proved by the results. The history of public works in India shows that progress is very liable to be hindered, if not frustrated, by financial alarms. Wars, internal convulsions, the falling off of a branch of revenue, the growth of expenditure in other directions, the price of silver, and numerous claims upon the national purse, furnish excuses for the suspension of works and the limit of expenditure. What is termed the guarantee system, which secured the steady and uninterrupted progress of operations, was accordingly introduced. But the conditions attached to it were not accepted until every effort had been made,

and considerable delay had been incurred, to lighten the liability which it imposed upon the Government. It must be admitted that the system, while justifiable and necessary at the time it was adopted, has in it inherent weakness and entails complications which it is desirable to avoid, and the arrangements made then are not applicable now when there can be no longer doubt as to the remunerative character of well-selected and cheaply constructed lines. This consideration of the evils and defects subsequently led to an alteration in the policy applied to railways. They had, it was argued, cost more than was expected. The system was the cause. Extravagance was the natural result of a guarantee. The Government control, which was to check expenditure, failed to do so; and the double system produced friction detrimental to good management. These were the arguments of those who advocated the diametrically opposite policy of direct Government agency for constructing and working railways. It is unnecessary here to enter into a discussion of the merits of the two systems. Much might be said on both sides, and there has been room for both in India. Besides these methods, provincial governments have been empowered to apply local funds to a considerable extent in opening up communications both by roads and railways; and private enterprise with small aid and moderate subsidies has also done a little. Native rulers have likewise in some instances shown a great interest in extending railways in their territories, and are reaping the benefit of their enlightened action.

Whatever the agency, whatever may be the internal economy of each organization, the active intelligence which sets the machinery in motion is found in the person of the engineer. One of the brightest pages of the history of the country will be that which describes the genius, the courage, and the skill which have made the canals, the bridges, the railways, the telegraphs, harbours, and docks. As India has been the training-ground for our soldiers, so has it been one of the best practical schools for the engineering

branch of the army. Thrown at an early age on his own resources, and made responsible for the execution of a particular work, the young officer learnt how to exercise his thoughts, to make use of his opportunities, and to apply the materials he had at hand. This experience (which has made him doubly valuable when ordered on field service) united to a careful observation and scientific research, has produced amongst the ranks of the Indian military engineers such men as Colvin, Cautley, Baker, Cotton, Forbes, Baird-Smith, Napier, Yule, Strachey, Dickens, Taylor, and Chesney. The civil engineer is a comparatively recent introduction on the scene. In the early days of public works the military engineer undertook what was required. The roads, the canals, the civil and military buildings, were his work alone. But when operations became more extended—when railways had to be made—the civil engineer was necessarily called in, and right well has he done his part. Hundreds took service under the railway companies, and when in 1854 it was determined to organize the Public Works Department on a footing somewhat more commensurate with the requirements of the country, the staff was expanded. This was chiefly effected by introducing a large proportion of civil engineers—some selected from England, and some (including natives) from Indian Civil Engineering Colleges. Subsequently the Royal Indian Civil Engineering College of Cooper's Hill supplied all who were appointed from this country. There are three engineering colleges in India at which natives receive a technical education to qualify them for the public service, and it seems likely that they will take an important share in future operations. Nine appointments are annually offered for competition at these institutions, and native gentlemen can thus enter the higher grades of the service and rise to superior positions. The subordinate positions are now almost wholly filled by natives, who as mechanics are very proficient. Many of this class have become skilled workmen and good engine-drivers. Of the 197,748 persons

employed on the railways in the year 1884, 189,429, or 95·79 per cent. of the whole, were natives, 4,069 were Europeans, and 4,250 East Indians.

A description of the works which have been executed may properly be preceded by a brief allusion to the geographical configuration of the country, and to the variety of its climatic influences, as well as to the causes of those disastrous visitations to which it is subject. These points were dealt with in the Report of the Famine Commission, one of the most comprehensive and valuable papers which has ever emanated from the official press. It is useful, not only on account of the opinions and sound practical advice which it contains, but for the concise and accurate description which it gives of the physical characteristics of the country, its rainfall, the varieties of temperature, and the social and economical condition of its vast population.*

The report itself and the papers published with it are a complete compendium of information on these matters, and are deserving of the careful study of all who are interested in the prosperity of our Indian Empire. We learn from it that

"The total area of British India is about 13½ million square miles, and the population 240 millions. Of this, nearly 600,000 square miles, containing a population estimated at 50 millions, belong to the native States not under British administration; the remainder, about 900,000 square miles, with 190 millions of people, is under direct British rule.

"India," it goes on to say, "may be approximately described as lying half to the north and half to the south of the tropic. The whole country, excepting a comparatively small fraction of mountain, is subject to very great summer heat. In the southern half, though the maximum heat is less than in the north, the winter portion of the year is much less cold, so that the climate has generally a tropical character throughout the year, modified to

* The Commission was appointed by Lord Salisbury, when Secretary of State for India, in 1878; and was composed of General R. Strachey, R.E., C.S.I., F.R.S., President; Sir James Caird, K.C.B.; Hon. H. S. Cunningham, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta; G. A. Ballard, Madras Civil Service (succeeded by H. E. Sullivan, Madras Civil Service, in January, 1879); G. H. M. Batten, Bengal Civil Service; J. B. Peile, C.S.I., Bombay Civil Service; C. Rangachari, C.I.E., in the service of the Mysore State; Mahadeo Wasaden Barve, in the service of the Kolhapur State; C. A. Elliot, C.S.I., Bengal Civil Service, Secretary.

some extent by the elevation of the central region of high land which rises to about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, while the provinces of the north have a distinct season of winter cold, when the climate is that of the warmer temperate zone.

"The northern Provinces of British India occupy a great unbroken plain, which extends from the Himalaya Mountains to the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, and is traversed by the Rivers Indus and Ganges and their tributaries. Of the central and southern region the larger part consists of a hilly plateau or tableland, roughly triangular in shape, which projects into the Indian Ocean. Of the western flank of this plateau, the southern half forms the mountains known as the Western Ghats, which rise abruptly from the sea to an elevation that seldom exceeds 4,000 feet, though the Nilghiri Mountains, near the southern end of the range, rise to 8,000 feet; and the northern half constitutes the Aravali Hills which separate Rajputana from the plain of the Indus. The eastern margin is less sharply defined, is less in elevation, and has a greater breadth of low-lying land between its foot and the sea; the southern part is known as the Eastern Ghats, and on the north it merges in the hills of Western Bengal. The northern border of the plateau is still less sharply defined, and gradually declines in the north-west, where it breaks up into small hills, and the line which separates it from the great northern plain can hardly be distinguished."

While some parts of India are regularly visited by seasonable rains, other parts are very liable to drought. The observations and researches of late years have done much to render of great practical use the knowledge which has been collected regarding meteorology; but that knowledge has not yet reached the threshold of an exact science, and man at present is unable to do more than trace some of the causes of local climatic influences, to give warnings and to suggest precautions. One season of drought is generally followed by a second and often by a third. Out of thirty-one famines during the present century, fifteen succeeded each other in three, and sixteen in two consecutive years, while intervals between them varied from two to ten years. The country has, of course, always been subject to famines, and history relates how in 1631 the Emperor Shah Jehan, and in 1661 the Emperor Auranzebe, tried to mitigate their desolating effects without much success. Within the time of the present generation several very severe famines have taken place. From 1848 to 1878 the "abnormal deaths which occurred in years of famine did

not fall short of ten millions." The cost to the State of the efforts made during this period to relieve the starving population may be estimated at 21½ millions sterling, exclusive of several millions in loss of revenue. A humane government cannot remain quiescent with facts such as these staring them in the face. The task is herculean, but one worthy of the steady and persevering efforts of the British administration. It was arranged during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, that the sum of £1,500,000 should annually be set apart from the revenues of the country as a famine fund, the object being, as explained in the report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1879, presided over by Lord George Hamilton—

"To avoid the constant additions to the debt of India which the prevention of periodical famines would entail, by either applying the increase of income to works likely to avert famine, and thus obviate famine expenditure, or by reducing annually debt contracted for famine, so that, if famine expenditure should again become inevitable, the reduction of debt made in years of prosperity would compensate for the liabilities incurred during scarcity."

The permanent remedies are more irrigation, more railways. With canals, tanks, and wells to irrigate, and with an adequate extent of railways to convey food from parts of India where there is abundance to those which are suffering from scarcity, famines should be unknown. Drought is never general. In the years of the worst famines, heavy crops of various food grains have been raised in certain districts sufficient to maintain the whole population of India, and the people have only starved and perished because food could not be taken to them in time. In every country under the sun water is essential for the fertilization of the soil. In tropical climes this is especially the case. From time immemorial various methods of collecting it have been in use in India. Instinct aroused the ingenuity and skill of the people, and the remains of old works show that anicuts, wells, tanks, and channels for conducting water from rivers for irrigating purposes, were constructed a great

many years ago. The same means have been adopted and improved under the guidance of modern science, and important systems of canals in various parts of the country have been established. The nature of the work must necessarily be regulated by the circumstances of the districts in which water is required. Perennial canals can only be made where a constant supply of water from a glacier-fed river can be relied on, and no canal, whether intended for a regular or intermittent provision, can be formed except in the neighbourhood of a running stream. In Madras a system prevails of diverting the water of the rivers by means of large weirs or anicuts in their deltas, and distributing it by numerous canals and channels. In many places, and especially in Upper India, where a water-bearing stratum, from 10 to 40 feet below the surface exists in an alluvial soil, wells become the most approved and easy method of irrigation. Other districts are served by tanks. Storage reservoirs of a very large area are designated by this modest title. They are formed by embankments across valleys and narrow gorges, and are supplied by streams and the drainage of the neighbouring slopes. Some are as large as our English lakes, covering a surface of many miles, and water from them is distributed over a great extent of country by means of channels cut for the purpose. "Thus," the Famine Report informs us, "the Sulikere Tank in Mysore and the Camban Lake in Karnul, which are probably the largest in India, are 40 miles in circumference." The Etruk Tank, in the Bombay Presidency, is also of considerable size. It is formed by an earthen dam 7,000 feet in length, and 76 feet in height, thrown across the valley of a small river, and covers an area of $7\frac{1}{4}$ miles. One irrigation work in Southern India is designed to convey the waters of the River Periyar from the western side of the hills to the eastern side, which is often in great want of rain and consequently subject to famine. This is to be effected by means of a large reservoir formed of a concrete dam 155 feet in height, from which the water will be con-

veyed by an artificial channel more than 80 miles long, taken through the hills by a subterranean tunnel 6,650 feet in length. The system of well-sinking employed by the natives years ago still continues, and is the most general way of providing irrigation wherever the soil favours the operation. A cylinder of brick-work is built upon the surface of the ground and, assisted by excavation inside, sinks into the soil when softened by the rains. Another and another superstruction is added to the sunken cylinder until a sufficiently deep well is formed. The most successful irrigation works, financially, are those connected with the Deltaic canals in Madras. Great results are now obtained from a comparatively small outlay, returns being calculated only upon the money which has been expended on restoring, improving, and extending original works constructed centuries ago. Within the limits of this article, it is impossible to give more than the general results and a few examples. The noble work which, under the title of the Ganges Canal, conducts the water of that river by means of its main channel and distributaries over a distance aggregating about 3,000 miles, is the finest work of the kind in the world. It commences at Hurdwar, where the Ganges debouches upon the plains, and runs a course of 415 miles with distributaries 2,570 miles in length. Last year it supplied 3,750 villages. The capital expended upon it to the end of March, 1882, was (taking the rupee at 2s.) £2,800,000. The net profits from direct receipts were £191,737, or 6·86 per cent., and including indirect receipts, 8·45 per cent.* The Eastern Jumna Canal was originally projected in the seventeenth century by Shah Jehan. Its works fell into decay, and were taken in hand by the British Government in 1823. The head of the canal is at Raipur, on the River Jumna, at the foot of the Sewalic Range. Its length is 130 miles with distributaries of 618 miles. The outlay

* It was estimated in the famine of 1861, that the value of the crops saved by this canal, though far from completed, was in excess of the outlay upon it up to that time.

upon it has been £297,728 to the end of March, 1884, and the net receipts calculated upon that expenditure were that year £61,077, or at the rate of 20·51 per cent. These are examples of successful works, and if space permitted others might be described, such as the Baree Dooab, the Agra, the Soane, and Sirhind canals; but there are several the results of which are very different, and if judged only by bald financial statements might be regarded as failures. But such works, although not productive in the sense of yielding a return of interest on the money expended, are nevertheless highly remunerative even from a pecuniary point of view, if they save the Government from a heavy periodical outlay in preserving life and in relieving the necessities of famine-stricken districts. Indirect gains are also secured through an enhanced assessment in irrigated lands, as well as in revenue from fresh lands brought under cultivation. As an instance of the great disparity which sometimes exists between the direct and indirect receipts derived from certain works, one in Burmah may be noticed, the object of which is to bank up the Irrawaddi River, and turn it to account for irrigating purposes. The direct receipts from water rates amount to 16,795 rupees. The indirect revenue from the reclaimed and cultivated land is 2,835,407 rupees. Turning to the Madras Deltaic irrigation works, the Cauvery may be noticed as the most successful as well as the most extensive system. The head of the Tanjore Delta is between 90 and 100 miles from its mouth, at a point where the river is divided into two streams by an island, 17 miles in length and 2 miles at its greatest width. The northern stream is called the Coleroon, and the southern the Cauvery. The original works consisted of an anicut, or dam, across the stream where the two rivers reunite, and are so ancient that it has been impossible to trace the date of their execution. They were designed with great skill and ingenuity, but were found to be in a very imperfect condition on the cession of Tanjore to the British in 1800, and their improvement and

development has occupied the attention of the Madras engineers ever since. The most important additions and improvements were made upon the advice of Captain (now Sir Arthur) Cotton in 1834. He recommended a grand anicut, 1,950 feet in length, across the Coleroon. This was successfully carried out together with a series of subsidiary works, and they have entirely fulfilled their object, conferring immense benefit on the districts served. About 800,000 acres are irrigated, and the financial results are most satisfactory. The sum placed to the capital account, as the expenditure of the Government to March 31, 1882, is 1,120,000 rupees. During that year the net revenue yielded 66 per cent. thereon. The surplus revenue realized up to the same time, after payment of interest and all other charges, had exceeded the amount of capital expended on the works nearly seventeen times. In Bengal the results are very different. The Orissa canal has cost upwards of £2,000,000, and the annual expenses are not at present covered by the receipts. It serves, however, important purposes, being suitable for navigation as well as for irrigation, and it protects the district from desolating floods. The main channel is now open for 164 miles. There are 640 miles of distributaries, and an area of 358,163 acres receives protection.

To sum up, the total capital outlay on irrigation works in India to the end of 1883-84. was £25,586,867, and the net receipts for that year were £1,130,759, being a direct return of 4.41 per cent., without taking into consideration the indirect benefits.

The importance, nay, the necessity, of providing irrigation in India, and of making continual efforts to extend the operations, have, I trust, been sufficiently demonstrated. The inestimable benefits which they confer upon the country need not now be insisted on. If the works which have been established were now destroyed, a desolate waste would take the place of fertile plains; the population could not be supported, the revenue would fail, and there would be utter ruin instead of prosperity.

It is now time to turn to the railways. The agencies by which the existing lines were executed have already been described. Among them all, that which represents the capital and enterprise of India itself is most to be welcomed. But there is very little of it at present. A considerable amount of money is employed in trade manufactures and agriculture; some supplied from Europe, but a great deal from native sources. Almost all the expenditure on railways, canals, and productive works has, however, been met from funds either obtained from England or raised in the country by the Government. The savings of the natives have been only very sparingly contributed. Their habit is more to invest in property under the eye and direct control of the possessor, and although here and there a useful and ornamental work, a school, a public institution, or a palace may have been erected through the munificence of a native prince or rajah, no spirit of enterprise has been, until very lately, manifest. The enormous absorption of silver every year is one proof of this condition of things. Dealers in money and the employers of money in trade receive a much higher rate of interest than any investment in railways would give them; and considering the natural timidity which has been engendered by ages of insecurity, oppression, and spoliation, it is not surprising that there has been hesitation and backwardness on the part of the native capitalist to embark on such ventures. It is the more gratifying to perceive signs of a change in the spirit of the higher classes, who have recognized the value of railways, and have used their influence to promote them, and also to find local associations formed for making short lengths of line through districts in which they live and are interested. But, however advantageous this agency may be, it would be idle to say that, if it is not available in sufficient strength, no other course shall be taken to obtain capital.

It was hoped that the time had arrived when the private enterprise of this country, without Government aid

or interference, would have been applied more generally to railways in India. In America may be seen the powerful effects of enterprise. Why has she her hundred thousand miles of railway, and India only her ten thousand? The answer is given by Major Baring in one of his budget statements. The "rapid progress" in America "is due to the vigorous commercial enterprise of the people." "It is in this respect more than in any other that India presents a remarkable contrast. Local capital is either not available, or seeks, generally speaking, for more profitable investments than Indian railways afford. English capital has only recently begun to turn its attention to Indian railways, and can as yet scarcely be persuaded to dispense with Government assistance." Thirty years ago efforts to attract capital to India for railways altogether failed, except with liberal assistance from Government. But as time went on the public feeling underwent a change, the credit of the Indian Government improved, and promoters of railways were glad to accept less favourable terms than had heretofore been granted. There are even cases of companies which have undertaken railways with only the grant of land from the Government. The diminishing value of the rupee has, unfortunately, lately impeded and discouraged English enterprise, but were it forthcoming the true policy would be to give it every facility to obtain success. It is the agency which, if judiciously supported, would give the greatest hopes for future progress and success. If not sufficiently available, unless aided, the question arises, should such quasi-private enterprise be rejected? Is it not desirable to enlist its services in doing what it can and will usefully perform, avoiding the risk of any ultimate loss on the part of the State, providing all requisite safeguards for economy and securing the ultimate right of proprietorship for the Government?

The railway system of India has been laid out with the twofold object of securing the greatest commercial and political advantages. This was Lord Dalhousie's motive in

recommending the original main lines, and it has influenced the choice of others which have since been undertaken. It is, in fact, almost impossible to select any line which would fail to fulfil both purposes. It is often difficult also to predict the results which a line through a new country will produce. Sometimes hopes are realized, sometimes disappointed. It may be almost said—

“ Oft expectation falls, and most oft there
Where most it promises.”

The cost of the railways has been greater than was expected, but the average, which is about £13,000 a mile, compares favourably with those of other countries. We have the testimony of Sir John and General Strachey to the effect that “ it may confidently be affirmed that there is no country in which the railways, taken as a whole, have been constructed with more economy.” In latter years the cost of construction has been much less than it used to be. Lines on the 5ft. 6in. gauge have been constructed in favourable localities for £6,000 and £7,000 a mile, and metre gauge lines for £3,000 and £4,000 a mile. The greatest engineering difficulties have been those connected with the river crossings. The shifting nature of the river beds and the magnitude of the floods were only understood after experience had been purchased by failures. Piers for foundations, which were built 70 feet below the bed of a river, have been undermined by scour and thrown over. Rivers also have suddenly shifted their channels, and villages have been transferred from one bank to another. Some of the bridges, such as those over the Hughli, Gorai, and Soane, in Bengal; the Jumna at Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi; the Ganges at Benares, Cawnpore, and Allyghur; the Sutlej at Lovdiana and Bahwalpur; and those over the Jhelum, Ravi, Nerbudda, Taptee, Chenab, and the Indus at Attock, are magnificent structures, consisting generally of iron girders, made in this country, supported by piers on well foundations, constructed of stone, brick, or iron. They vary in

length from 9,300 feet downwards, and have to withstand floods which, in some cases, rise upwards of 90 feet. But these will, in some respects, be surpassed by the bridge now being thrown over the Indus at Sukkur. This is on the cantilever principle, similar to that which has been adopted for the bridge over the Forth. The Indus, at the site selected, is divided by an island into two channels, the larger one of which will be crossed by one span of 840 feet.

There are also some formidable works connected with the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, which passes over the mountain range running parallel with the western coast, and forming a barrier between Bombay and the interior. Two lines are carried up the Ghats at elevations of 1,912 and 2,037 feet, and present engineering features of no ordinary character.

The latest complete information regarding the position and working of the Indian railways is given in the excellent report of Colonel Stanton, R.E., the Director-General in India, for the year ended March 31, 1885. From it we learn that the total length then open for traffic was 12,004 miles, and that upwards of 3,500 were in course of construction. This length had been increased to 12,330 miles by the end of last year. By the completion of the bridge at Attock, an unbroken line of 1,560 miles extends from Calcutta to the North-west frontier at Peshawur. Another, 100 miles short of it, connects the same place with Bombay *via* Delhi. Lines also reach across the continent from Bombay to Allahabad and to Madras, and a further one is contemplated which will open up a comparatively unexplored country, and provide a direct line from the terminus of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway at Nagpur, in Central India, to Calcutta. An important line also follows the valley of the Indus, connecting the Punjab with the rising port of Kurrachee. These are the main lines. Other systems in the North-west Provinces, Oudh, Bohelkund, Behar, Assam and Bengal; also in Southern India, have been, or are being formed. In Burmah, also,

railways have been introduced with marked success. The lines made by the guaranteed companies cost £105,300,000; the State lines £43,000,000; those in Native States £3,800,000; and those by assisted companies £3,400,000; in all, £155,500,000; and upon this capital the revenue last year yielded an average return of £5 1s. 9d. per cent. The gross amount received was £16,066,225, and the working expenses £8,156,157, or 50·76 of the former. The number of passengers carried last year was 73,815,119, of which 97·03 per cent. consisted of the lowest classes, 2·51 of the second, and ·46 of the first class. The number of tons of goods moved was 16,663,000. I will not weary the reader with more figures. Those I have given are instructive as showing the good work which is being done. Both as regards the increased use of the lines by the people and the earnings, the progress has been gradual and constant; and now the receipts, which come from willing customers, not only cover the interest on the expenditure and contribute to the revenue of the country, but provide a fund for eventually paying off the capital.

The way in which the country benefits from the investments of English capital in Indian railways cannot be better explained than in the words of the Famine Commission—

"In the case of the guaranteed railways, about 100 millions of capital have been raised, and spent in India, and about 5 millions a year have been paid in England as interest on that capital; the railways pay those 5 millions by earning a gross income of 10 millions, five of which are spent in wages, and afford occupation to the people of the country. The people who voluntarily pay the 10 millions for the use of the railways are themselves largely benefited by them, and would have had to pay much more had they been obliged to use ruder means of conveyance. The remittance of 5 millions of interest to England therefore indicates the investment of a sum of money in India, which in numerous ways has conferred both direct and indirect benefits on the country."

One of these ways is that it reacts upon the capital available for trade by enabling it to fructify through the increased opportunities given for its employment.

The rivalry which has sprung up between Calcutta and Bombay for the export trade of the North-west Provinces is an interesting feature in the present position of railway and commercial affairs. It has been brought about by the completion of the two railway systems which now connect the upper Provinces with those ports respectively, and has been fostered by the demand for Indian wheat from Europe. The competition, if kept within proper limits, cannot but have beneficial effects, not only upon the producer and the country at large, but also upon the trader and the railways. It has already brought the charges for transport down from 38s. to 31s. per ton for the whole distance of 880 miles to Bombay, and has led to earnest attempts being made to improve the conveniences and to reduce the charges at the two ports.

One particular work, undertaken in the interests of peace and security, and yet of a strategic character, remains to be noticed. Along the north-west frontier of India a complete system of railways connected with good military roads and defensive positions is in course of execution. While fulfilling the political and military objects for which they are designed, these railways will be equally available for the peaceful pursuits of commerce. The port of Kurrachee will provide a ready outlet for exports; and the whole railway system of India with which the new lines are connected will furnish the means of carrying on an internal trade. A rapid civilizing process will thus go on in the hitherto wild and unapproachable regions to the north-west of India.

A word remains to be said regarding the telegraphs, which have been constructed entirely from revenue under the direct orders of the Government. The length of line now open is 23,341 miles, with 135 miles of cable. The number of messages have increased from 788,572 in 1874 to 1,825,514 in 1884, and the receipts from £196,820 to £322,006. The wires extend to every important point in the country, and are connected with Europe, China,

and the Australian Colonies by submarine lines. One of these lines is in the hands of the Government, and consists of a cable laid in the Persian Gulf from Kurrachee to Bushire, where it joins the Turkish system. A land line also is established on Persian territory, and is connected with the Indo-European Company's lines from England through Russian territory.

To sum up the financial effects of all the productive public works and the guaranteed railways, the total net charge on the revenues of India has been reduced from £1,911,497 in 1871-2 to £169,343 in 1881-2.

Pari passu with the spread of railways and the extension of irrigation, the country has made great strides in social progress and material welfare. The post-office marks how epistolary intercourse has increased. The number of letters, newspapers, and packets was 100,235,503 in 1874, and 303,340,195 in 1884. A wider intercourse with the outer world is shown by the trade returns. Ten years ago the value of merchandize exported was £55,250,763, and imported £31,874,625. Last year's returns show that £81,968,451 was exported, and £49,113,374 imported. Confidence has been established, credit improved. The rate of interest at which money was borrowed in 1866 was 5 per cent. It is now 3½ per cent. Manufactories are rising up; the mineral resources of the country are being developed. The quantity of coal raised in 1878 was 1,015,210 tons. In 1883 it amounted to 1,315,976 tons. A new and important trade has appeared. Twenty-five years ago Indian wheat was not known in the English market. For the last ten years it has been annually progressing. In 1864 the quantity exported was 15,770 cwt. In 1874 it had increased to 1,755,954 cwt.; and in the year ending March 31, 1884, it was 21,001,412 cwt., of which 10,508,210 was sent to England. Sir Evelyn Baring, in his budget statement in March, 1883, was justified in saying that, "under favourable conditions as regards the prospect of a market, it would be possible within a few years to double the

amount of wheat available for export, that is to say, to increase it to about forty million cwt."

Other causes beside the extension of railway communication and the fertilization of the soil by irrigation have no doubt contributed to these results: but, without attributing to them an undue share, the public works of the country cannot be dissociated from its progress. They have undoubtedly been a very important factor, and "those means are the most correct which best accomplish their ends." The advantages are, however, disputed by some persons, who regret that greater facilities are given to the export of food grains, and consider cheap transport charges on the railways to be an evil because they reduce prices in distant markets. Such persons would hamper trade and strangle a source of wealth, forgetting that what encourages the productive power of the country will eventually improve the condition of the people. Already, says the writer of the last "Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India," "a higher standard of comfort is gradually being recognized among the agricultural classes." Prices will of course rise when there is scarcity, so that a natural self-acting check is placed upon the exports of food grain when it can least be spared.

It is not possible, within the limits of this article, to enlarge on the social and moral effects which the public works of the country have had upon the people: but it may be interesting to inquire how the economic questions of over-population and food supply are affected thereby. As already stated, irrigation works and railways should eventually make famine impossible. The tendency of the population to increase will not consequently be subject to the check from this cause which it has hitherto received. The same effect will also be produced by the efforts made in other directions to subdue pestilence by proper sanitary arrangements and to prohibit female infanticide. It has been stated that the population in British territory increases at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum; but by the last census it appears that in ten years the actual rate

was '68 per cent. per annum—viz., from 206,499,611 in 1871 to 220,654,245 in 1881. Many thinkers have been greatly impressed by the condition of India in this respect, and feelings of alarm have been expressed as to the possibility of supporting the people should the increase continue in the same ratio. They assume that the cultivable area will soon be reached, and that then the food supply will be exhausted. "There is," says Mr. Giffen,* "very little new and fertile soil to appropriate;" there is "no sign that land is rapidly being taken into cultivation." There are "signs, on the contrary, of exhaustion in the agriculture, and of an approach to the limits of production according to the means at the disposal of the population." And he comes to the conclusion that "India for many years to come will be an increasingly dangerous problem for our statesmen to deal with." The question is no doubt one which does call for grave consideration, but I venture to think that the productive power of the country has been greatly underestimated, and I hope it has been shown by the foregoing statements that our administrators have been adopting means for solving the difficulty. The area is so vast and the materials for collecting statistics so imperfect that returns must be regarded as only approximate; but there are facts enough to show that there is still a large extent of unexplored and undeveloped country, that considerable tracts of cultivable land still remain to be cultivated, that the fertilizing power of the cultivated land may, with proper care and husbandry, be increased, and that at the present time the food produce of India not only supplies her own wants, but is able to meet the demands of other countries. The total area of cultivable land in British territory is estimated in recent returns (and they are probably below the mark) to be 262,340,837 acres, of which 148,991,846 were cultivated and 113,345,991 fallow. In the Punjab alone there are large tracts which only require irrigation to make them

* Inaugural Address as President of the Statistical Society, 1882.

fertile. Burmah is also a province which could provide large quantities of food grain. There are likewise extensive districts in Central India which, since the railway has been made, have become producers of wheat and other grain. The present area under wheat cultivation alone may be taken at about 26,000,000 acres, of which 20,000,000 are in British territory and 6,000,000 in Native States. The yield in the former is estimated at 120,000,000 cwt., in the latter 25,000,000 cwt. The trade with this country is influenced by the prices prevailing here, and these are determined by the harvests at home, the supplies from America, Russia, and Germany, also by the rate of exchange, the cost of freights, and the charge for internal carriage. A greater quantity of grain will become available as the cost of transport is reduced by the extension of railways. The price in the Provinces will naturally increase as the demand increases; but there are other food grains in plenty to meet the wants of the population, and the expansion of trade will have the effect of improving the means of purchasing commodities from other countries.

The method of cultivation and the cost of production varies considerably according to the soil, situation, and means of irrigation. In some places the cost has been calculated to be as low as 1s. a bushel or 8s. a quarter, if 6d. be excluded for rent. Should the market price be 18s. 6d. a quarter, the producer could probably receive 15s. or 16s., leaving a margin of profit of 10s. the acre if $2\frac{1}{4}$ quarters are produced, and 4s. if only 1 quarter is produced. With regard to the alleged exhaustion of the soil, over cultivation and cropping will of course end in a falling off in the yield of some lands, and this is not uncommon when virgin soil has been cultivated. With proper treatment, however, the soil afterwards assumes, with ordinary means of manuring, a normal condition of fertility.

As regards the quality of Indian wheat, the opinion is given by experts,* after making a series of careful experi-

* Messrs. Macdougall Brothers.

ments with certain samples, and comparing them with American, English, Russian, Egyptian, and Australian wheat, "that they are exceedingly useful wheats; in fact, hardly equalled for what is deficient and wanting in English markets by any other wheat." It has accordingly become the practice to mix them with home-grown wheat.

Sir James Caird, who was a prominent member of the Famine Commission, has also gloomy forebodings—

"It is impossible," he says, "to contemplate the present state of India without serious apprehension. The people under the protection of our rule are increasing in number. The available good land is nearly all occupied, and much of it is deteriorating from productiveness from the exhausting system of agriculture. The landless class depending on labour is becoming more numerous; while the demand for labour does not increase. Scarcity is more frequent because the margin of production beyond the wants of the people is becoming every ten years narrower. The remedy for this hazardous position is in less costly government and establishments, the extension of industrial employment, a sounder system of land tenure, and thereby the substitution of an improving for an exhausting agriculture." *

These may be useful suggestions, but it is curious that Sir James Caird should not have alluded to the importance of irrigation and of the facilities of transport. There can, however, be no doubt about his opinion on these points, for, as a member of the Famine Commission, he joined in this wise declaration, that "it is to the improvement of the internal communications and the removal of all obstructions to the free course of trade, accompanied by the extension of irrigation in suitable localities, and an improved agriculture, that we look for obtaining security in the future against disastrous failures of the food supply in tracts visited by drought." In 1879 the Famine Commission found that about 29,220,000 acres of cultivated land in India were subject to irrigation, which was principally carried out by means of wells. Since that time the canals alone which have been completed will irrigate 301,000 acres more, and new works have been sanctioned at an estimated cost

* *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. vi. p. 726.

of about £3,000,000, which provide water for a further extent of several hundred thousand acres. The prognostications of Mr. Giffen are also qualified by his saying, "unless there is an unlooked-for change in the character of the people." That a great change in the condition of the country and in the character of the people is being gradually and extensively produced by the legislative and fiscal measures of recent years, as well as by the general progress which has been made through education and inter-communication, must be manifest to all who have observed the expansion of trade and the numerous rising industries which have appeared. And this improvement is not confined to the few. It is general and widespread, reaching the poor village labourer, who with higher wages and extended employment obtains at cheaper rates his salt, rice, and raiment. But, however much has been done, very much undoubtedly remains to be done. The obstacles may be considerable, but many of the difficulties can be met by steady and systematic measures for the extension of well-selected public works. While, therefore, the dangers apprehended by the high authorities just referred to are founded on assumptions which can scarcely be sustained, the remedies which they recommend are being applied.

The Government of India has given repeated proofs lately of its desire to push forward important railway projects; and Lord Randolph Churchill showed during his tenure of office that he was a warm and bold supporter of schemes recommended by that Government for advancing the prosperity of the country. Mr. Cross, the late Under Secretary of State for India, who approached the subject with great caution from a financial point of view, several times declared in the House of Commons that outlay in the extension of railways and other public works should not be relaxed. Major Baring, in his budget statement, hoped that "it may be possible in the future to push forward the construction of railways at a more rapid pace than in the past." Mr. E. Stanhope, once also an Under Secretary of State, and a

most prudent statesman, desired "heartily that public works should be pushed forward as the finances of India could afford and the material condition of the country would justify." The Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1884 to consider "the necessity for more rapid extension of railway communication in India," came to the conclusion that the evidence they received "in favour of a more rapid extension" was "conclusive." And it has over and over again been acknowledged by other Secretaries of State and by the Indian Council that to effect this object the enterprise of this country should be encouraged to supply the requisite capital, supplemented by money raised by the Government or spared from the revenue. The policy of a Government like that of India cannot be altogether governed by abstract ideas. There has been, and there probably will be for some time to come, an elasticity about it, showing that circumstances must guide it, and that rules should yield to the necessities of the case. While, therefore, financial considerations must be kept steadily in view, and must in a great measure regulate the course to be followed, it has been acknowledged by all who have studied the subject, that we may proceed with confidence and courage in making a steady and judicious progress in the construction of well-selected and carefully laid-out works of public utility in India.

JULAND DANVERS.

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA.

It has been asked by those who provide for the educational wants of the rising generation, whether political geography should not be considered an adjunct of historical, rather than of scientific instruction. If the majority of professional judges have replied by a negative—as there is reason to infer—it is not improbable that their scrutiny has been mainly exercised in the schoolroom : and on such supposition it were well to extend the field of inquiry, and ask whether statesmen and politicians of ripe age and experience would not have been far wiser in their generation, and more fitted to conduct negotiations for the honour of their country, their own personal satisfaction, and the benefit of their fellows, had they been taught school-knowledge upon a system in which history and geography go hand in hand, and practical science is not confounded with metaphysics ? That there is room for amendment of the conventional arrangement in this respect cannot be doubted by any who have carefully perused the recent statistics connected with the subject ; and when the true state of geographical training in England is sifted with reference to practical results, the outside critic may naturally feel surprised that reform has been so long delayed. If among “practical results” were included the process of dealing with the political divisions of Central Asia—lately brought to a stage which might be expressed in music by *rallentando*, but for which, in literary composition, a semi-colon would be hazardous—the illustration should be neither unimportant nor uninteresting. To this might be added the proper mode of settlement applicable to unfortunate Egypt, where hitherto no scheme that Englishmen devised, however manifold its phases and numerous its

abettors, has had any semblance of success. But something preliminary should be said by way of argument, and some kind of a proposition laid down before instances and examples are cited or existing evils approached.

The whole question of the uses of geography in all its branches—physical, political, and general—and of its true position as a study in schools, has been prepared for consideration by a plain, practical report, completed during the past year by Mr. Keltie, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society. This gentleman, a very competent exponent of existing systems in the particular branch of learning under review, has, in his capacity of inspector to the Society, published a valuable *résumé* of the information collected at home and abroad on the subject; and his paper is of that comprehensive nature that it may well serve as a ready guide and reference to those individual members of School Boards or governing bodies of schools who are sufficiently serious and energetic to mean as well as to talk about reform. Not only does the writer lay bare the many defects of our home system of teaching geography—if indeed it can be called “system” at all—but he analyzes the methods of teaching the science on the continent of Europe and in America. The *curricula* of Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Spain, all pass in review before the reader in the body of his report; and the appendix is full of illustrations of the work done in universities, academies, and schools at home. The outcome of the whole inquiry is the incontrovertible fact that England is behind her neighbours in a department of ordinary education for which she possesses the means of being far before them; and it is not illogical to affirm that this neglect of her quasi-domestic responsibilities, if not speedily repaired, may prove, in the case of a rising generation, as it has already done in the instance of elders and grey-beards, a source of national detriment and political decline.

Mr. Keltie's report, at first intended for the council-room

of Savile Row alone, has since been made public, and formed one of the most attractive papers read at the Aberdeen meeting of the British Association in September last. Its publication may be said to mark the second decisive step taken by the Royal Geographical Society in its praiseworthy efforts for the promotion of geographical knowledge in this country. The first was the grant of prizes to such public schools as chose to compete for them. This well-meant experiment failed in its main object of arousing emulation and enthusiasm. "In 1869," we read, "the public schools' medals were instituted, and were continued for sixteen years, until in 1884 the Society was induced to discontinue them by the unsatisfactory nature of the results." During the period of probation, as it may be termed, sixty-two medals were awarded, but recipients were forthcoming only from sixteen schools or colleges, and two of the sixteen—Dulwich and Liverpool—carried off thirty, or nearly half the whole number of awards! The prize-giving was supplemented by other attempts to evoke sympathy; but verily no fire was kindled, and throughout all, the majestic conventionalism of Government remained utterly blind to the significant circumstance that an independent society was acting as an unpaid but not unworthy adjunct of a ministerial department. May the direction now taken lead to a more successful result, and enlist not only the sympathies of governments in its behalf, but imbue ministers themselves with the conviction that without a knowledge of countries and peoples our interference is injurious and offensive! A refined and classical education has undoubted charms and advantages. It exercises a civilizing influence upon the ruder nature and innate selfishness of man; but of itself it is an insufficient qualification for professional duties. Faulty quotations and false quantities may excite laughter. But faulty counsel in difficulties and dangers—a false move in a national emergency—tears and lamentation would often be more appropriate for these, as they excite the scorn and derision of the whole world.

We are authoritatively told that, at one of our greatest public schools, which may be fairly taken as representative of its class, there is no systematic teaching of geography at all, but that "in the history lessons, as well as in the classical lessons, a certain amount of geography is introduced incidentally." Again, if we look at the universities abroad, it has been found the custom, until quite lately, both in France and Germany, to combine the chairs of geography and history under one professor. Now the "incidental" character of geographical instruction is a tacit declaration of its unimportance, which every day's experience shows to be without warrant; and its combination with history may be an expedient to render it less distasteful than it appears as a separate study. But a useful hint may be taken from the continental practice; and a partial fusion of two departments effected, which would commend itself to common sense, and, to judge from the recorded opinions of certain of our educational experts, might not be objected to by head-masters in England collectively. Let us, then, endeavour to extract from the lessons of conventional geography that part which is inseparable from the study of nations and people, and place it under a new and more appropriate head. In this view, so-called "Political Geography," stripped of its purely scientific belongings, would be taught in connection with history, and made an essential ingredient in the early training of British statesmen, whose after-reputation should be more or less the outcome of a university career, the grounding of a public or grammar-school, or private tuition. It is difficult to reconcile the amalgamation of what may be considered "scientific" geography with history. One is as thoroughly apart from the other as geology is from astronomy.

Green's "*History of the English People*" is an unrecognized form of political geography in itself. A similar history of the inhabitants of Turkistan or other divisions of Central Asia—of Persia, of Armenia, Egypt, or any region in which the British lion has been, or may be called upon

to make a demonstration, or prove its right to supremacy—would be invaluable if equally rich in accurate and useful information. What it would lack to be a perfect guide and text-book to Her Majesty's advisers, commissioners, and diplomatists, would be, first, the purely geographical element essential to the comprehension of questions the practical nature of which will be appreciated in the suggestive names of Panjdeh and Zulfakâr Pass; and, secondly, the more general ethno-geo-graphic teaching which would serve to indicate the kind of government adapted to modern Egypt. Our business now is with the first of the two requirements only.

An illustration of my meaning may be found in the contrast between M. Lessar's knowledge when, last year, he broke ground in his diplomatic mission to London, and the knowledge of those with whom he came to confer. Additional examples are repeatedly supplied in the "Further Correspondence regarding Central Asia," published during the last two years, than which few pages of any Blue-books contain lessons of weightier import. If to a counterpart of the "History of the English People" were added another counterpart of Hertzslet's admirable volumes, in which the shifting boundaries of European States are displayed in carefully prepared maps, ample material would be obtained for the kind of manual required; and it is unlikely that, coached in such lore as this, our diplomatic alumni would need the aid of the outside world to solve a professional problem, however complicated, whether presented in Europe or Asia. The Russian ambassador must have had a sense of our deficiencies when, in discussing the Zulfakâr affair, he "was disposed to recommend that the question should be referred to a Geographical Commission."* But then Russia is strong just where we are weak. Her Asiatic department is not a purely administrative secretariat. It has its *savants* and experts in various branches of useful

* "Central Asia," No. IV., *Further Correspondence*, p. 57.

knowledge. Political geography is not with her, as with us, an ill-studied, ill-defined section of an unpopular and almost neglected science. It is part of her history, and her history is a guiding-star to her diplomacy. Above all, she has not that instinctive horror of Eastern countries, Eastern lore, and Eastern politics peculiar to so many Englishmen, who have not been drawn towards these subjects by circumstance or fortuitous connection.

In plain language, why should we not know in our public offices, as a matter-of-course outcome of professional training, all that is necessary to be known of the historically—nay, classically—interesting regions east of the Caspian? Why should it have become the undignified habit for high authorities to seek from outsiders that information which they should either themselves possess, or which their *employés* should be able to communicate to them at a moment's notice? Were it not that in this country very little general interest is taken in the details of foreign politics, much less of Oriental diplomacy; and moreover that the middle classes care little, and the working classes still less—rather perhaps have positive objection to be talked to—about such things, the spectacle of his legislator's ignorance might be hurtful to an Englishman's patriotism. But, unfortunately, there is a dangerous spirit of *laissez faire* at work among Her Majesty's subjects as well as advisers; and unless a weapon of attack or defence be sought in them for party purposes, hundreds of questions are left unsifted or in darkness, through neglect of examining which the prestige and character of England materially suffer.

It may be said there is no recognized history of Central Asia which could be accepted as a text-book for juvenile aspirants to statesmanship, and on which the necessary amount of political geography could be ingrafted to make of it a model manual. Such objection is undoubtedly valid; for the British stripling, with a natural and not unhealthy, or to-be-discouraged, propensity to cricket and football, and

indisposed to extra mental exertion under the somewhat luxurious system of public schools, can hardly be expected to compile for himself the stray information to be obtained from books, pamphlets, and geographical serials. The task would wear him out, and the drudgery involved would (*miserabile dictu*) be unbefitting a growing leader of men. But there is no reason why the matter should not be taken in hand by writers whose profession is to educate youth. They might readily trim up into the form proposed existing histories of European States; and the preparation of a school history of the lands known within the present century, as Independent Turkistan (though now for the most part absorbed within the dependencies of the White Czar), would supply them with a very wholesome and useful occupation.

Let us for a moment, however, concentrate our attention on the five maps contained in the parliamentary Blue-book marked "Central Asia No. 3"—maps intended "to accompany No. 2 and 4 (1885) presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, in May last." *En passant* be it remarked, that the "No. 4" here noted is so far anomalous that, whilst also "presented"—in other words, laid substantially on the table of an assembly composed of presumably reasonable living men—in the aforesaid May, more than half of the letters which it contains *are written after the 31st of that month, i.e., in June, July, August, and September!* These five maps generally indicate the country from Merv North, to Herat South; as also that between Shibarghan (here transcribed "Shibir Khan") East and Sarakhs West—a tract comprised within parallels of N. latitude 36° and 40° , and meridians of E. longitude 30° and 36° . Now what do we, as an educated people, know of the history of this particular region compared with that of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, or other European empires, kingdoms, or republics, about which we learn a good deal, irrespective of book instruction, from the after-dinner conversation of

relatives and acquaintances? What *did* we know of its geography until taught by special circumstances, by M. Lessar and Captain Holdich?

Before coming to a practical illustration of a pattern history of Central Asia, or any section of that area of questionable extent, in the wide sense suggested, it were well to revert to the unsatisfactory designation "political," coupled, as in the case of arithmetic, with a branch of school education, so as to examine more closely what has hitherto been, and what is at the present day, understood by the compound term. That the adjective is elastic is a self-evident proposition. Few persons will contend that its application to the noun substantive "economy" is that in which it is understood by the agitators of Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, when used to qualify their noisy demonstrations.

Definitions of political geography have been many and variform. The following five are taken at random—the first from an encyclopædia, the others from cheap and popular school-books—

1. "The description of the political or arbitrary divisions and limits of empires, kingdoms, and states; also of the laws, modes of government, and social organisation which prevail in the different countries."
2. "Division of the earth into various countries, and manners, customs, and occupation of inhabitants."
3. "The divisions and history of nations and people."
4. "A description of the peoples inhabiting the more important countries, and their political state."
5. "Ordinary or political geography," this last authority tells us, "describes the divisions of the land made by mankind into countries, provinces, &c.; their inhabitants, government, towns, natural productions, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; everything being viewed with reference to the artificial divisions and works made by man."

Now these, in truth, denote little if anything more than would be found in any respectable history. England, for instance, whether Roman Britain, an Anglo-Saxon kingdom, or conquered by the Norman William, is put before the student by its approved historians in respect of general physical aspect and territorial divisions: its tribes or fixed

inhabitants, their origin, manners and customs, religion, rites and sacrifices; as well as minute details of government. The expression, however, is *not* confined to the vague yet narrow definition of the common school-book, nor even to that of standard educational works. It must be rather taken as apprehended by the scientific geographers of England, combined with those who take an intelligent interest in the subject, without aspiring to fill the vacant professorial chair of an ill-tended science—all, in short, who, whatever their individual qualifications, are as learned and safe authorities on the questions with which they deal as are to be found in Her Majesty's dominions. But the data obtained for investigation are more plentiful than clear, and we find amalgamation of all kinds of geography so much the fashion, and separation into distinctive departments of study so rare at school examinations—even those conducted by the experts of the Royal Geographical Society—that, although ready to admit the plea of justification for the course pursued, we are puzzled to find our needle in the hay. For instance, among eighteen questions propounded to the competitors from Harrow School in what is called, "A general paper set for Lady Strangford's Geographical Prize," we find one, No. 8, as follows: "Write a short history of Spain from the names of places in it, and mention all the names of places in the world you can think of derived from Julius or Augustus Cesar, or any other Roman Emperor." Another, No. 10, is thus stated: "General Kaufmann is just dead. Draw a map of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins, showing the positions of the principal Khاناتes subjugated by Russia during the last thirty years. Discuss the position of Merv. What river is it on?" The first of these would appear to be, under rules of common sense, unaffected by conventional terms, rather historical than geographical—though decidedly bearing on geography, and less directly on archaeology and philology; while the second looks mainly political. The scientific aspect of the Oxus and Jaxartes, and the position of Merv

and its river are so overshadowed—it might almost be said so “sat upon”—by the opening assertion, that it is impossible to disconnect the one from the other. It is as if the guiding note had been struck, and the monotone regulated accordingly. Was it that the examiners had in view the Russo-Afghan difficulty to be developed a year or two later? There was something almost prophetic in the aptness of their proposition, and it is unfortunate that attention was not paid in high quarters to the warning implied. But, although our rulers may not object to the aid of a loyal and competent society in promoting the cause of State education at no cost whatever, not even of interference with School Boards, it would be unbecoming the dignity of a ministerial bureau to accept its advice in the matter of foreign politics, though tendered in innuendoes.

It so happens that during the last three months—the first quarter of the current year—the question of “Geography in its relation to History” has been treated by a gentleman of great ability and rare experience in travel, in a paper prepared for the Royal Geographical Society. Professor Bryce’s* lecture was delivered in the rooms in Great Marlborough Street, which the Society had temporarily hired for the gratuitous edification of the public, enriching them with a large and varied collection of illustrative maps and other appropriate objects—the whole thing being part of what has been already referred to as its second decisive step taken to promote the knowledge of geography. The lecturer may have, and has—his fancies and crotchets, perhaps his predilections and prejudices—but it must be in many respects a subject of congratulation, even to those who differ from him in politics, to find that one who has displayed so keen and enlightened an interest in the practical uses of an important but undervalued study, has been authorized, as it were, to bring his scientific acquirements in these matters to bear upon the conduct of

* Now Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

our relations with foreign States. It cannot, for example, be his function to deny that acquaintance with the ethnography and geography of Central Asia would have been an invaluable qualification for a British statesman whose mission it was to dispose of the Panjdeh question and its accompanying perplexities. "Where is Panjdeh?" and "What is Zulfakár?" may have naturally been asked by the outside public on hearing of the first telegram which gave prominence to these places. Not so the responsible authorities. The Foreign Office should have had all such details and exponents of them within itself, and a glance at the first in brief consultation with the second should have sufficed to place the leader and representative of the nation in a position to meet his political antagonist, whoever he might be. Of course a general acquaintance with the history, ethnography, and geography of Central Asia are pre-supposed; for it is needless to argue that such a groundwork as this is more than a *désideratum* for a statesman whose mission it is to adjudicate on the question of right to territory so far removed from his own Europe as to be south of the river Oxus and east of the Caspian Sea.

In dealing with Asia, the lecturer describes the natural causes of scant population, insignificant commerce, and absence of wealth. He also shows with truth and ingenuity, the manifest causes of separation, or almost isolation, which exist for the respective nationalities, or groups of states, in their relations one with the other, the outcome being that "the historical relations of Central Asia" are, as a natural consequence, "rather with the east, than with the west or south." This may be held to be a political result arising from physical conditions. But a brief extract will afford the fitter explanation—

"Central Asia has come comparatively little into the history of the world. When she has done so by sending out swarms of invaders, as in the times of the Huns, in the times of Zenghis Khan and Timour, these invading tribes have seldom maintained their connection with the centre. Sometimes they have shrunk back, their empires being broken up after one

or two generations. Sometimes they have become absorbed, as the Turks, because the Ottoman Turks are, to a comparatively small extent, of pure Tartar blood. There is a mixture of Turcoman blood, but they are mainly composed of the people among whom they settle. These empires sometimes maintain themselves in that way in the new circumstances under which they came, and the Turkish Empire lasts on to our own day. And the Mogul Empire lasted to our own day, for it was not absolutely put an end to till the Queen became Empress of India, although it was practically ended before. Here you have the fact that, wherever the Central Asiatic race come down to the west or south, they get severed from the original stock. Whether they found empires or are absorbed and so disappear, in neither case is the connection maintained. But in the east they conquered China, and their connection is maintained because there is no such barrier between the great central plateau of Asia and the valleys of Central Asia and China, as there is in the west, or as the mountains in the south, and to this day China rules there. The connection between them and China is maintained, whereas the connection between Central Asia and the rest of Asia came to an end, and in most cases came to an end very soon."

Politically speaking, it is late in the day to inquire whether the above-recorded physical reasons are held applicable to the advance of modern Russia south and east of her original limits; but in a scientific point of view the question is of interest. In her continuous and onward movement, she has certainly gone far to ignore any natural barriers of separation, and the boundaries which are now contended for as the *termini* of her Turkman conquests are wholly exceptional and abnormal. If a series of steppes and open deserts are the main features of the vast region between Orenburg and the Kizil Kum, the geography of lands to the eastwards is of quite a different character. But whether at the Tajan and Murghab, or at the Pamir and sources of the Oxus, there is no trace of "severance from the original stock." The Muscovite is as much a Muscovite in Tashkand as in Tula, and serves the Tzar with the same blind devotion at Khokand as in Kazan. According to our standard manuals, these facts in themselves—relating as they do to "political and arbitrary divisions and limits of empires, kingdoms and states," or, as otherwise expressed, "to the divisions of land made by mankind"—are strictly "political geography." On the other hand, to observe and note them is, we are told, "historical." After

all, the great object is to foresee and provide against them when they are unjust and injurious. Any action taken, however, though it serve the cause of political geography, must evidently be confined to the domain of what is conventionally termed "politics."

Would it not, then, be wise and reasonable to combine the studies of history and political geography—putting a wider interpretation than the conventional one upon the latter designation—in such a manner that the two together should be just the sort of *pabulum* dispensed to the rising generation of statesmen, diplomatists, and all who aspire to the name of politician? May we not, moreover, impart to the dish so much of the flavour of actual "politics" that it be found not only wholesome, but agreeable to the taste? Few *habitués* of institutions or societies where this element is banished from debate, will fail to recognize its presence in some under-current of special interest immediately affecting the subject discussed, though its action be not apparent above the surface. As to what we should learn of Central Asia to qualify ourselves for laying down a principle of adjudication of its lands on behalf of India, or the allies of India, any answer now given to the question has no pretension to apply in an educational sense, nor to be treated in any other light than as the merest suggestion. The object is rather to demonstrate that, if a little learning be a dangerous thing in the transactions of ordinary mankind, it is more than dangerous in the case of those whose proceedings involve the welfare and happiness of thousands.

Asia itself is a stupendous study, but the difficulties may be smoothed to the learner by the judicious employment of method which, after disposing of essential generalities, would naturally tend to division and subdivision. The first would imply a region such as Turkistan; the second, a group of States, or single States only, such as Bukhara and Khiva. Given, then, a particular area, the next consideration should be to explain its physical geography. This should comprise the scientific description of its mountains,

rivers, and valleys. Its orography should be comprehensive in respect of direction, elevation, water-sheds, and connection with plains and plateau; its hydrography should treat of sources and mouths, basins, drainage, and connection with lake and swamp. Climate and the more important forms of animal and vegetable life should succeed in due course; indeed, something of geology, zoology, and botany, and it may be more besides, might reasonably be added to satisfy the requirements of purely scientific teaching. After science, history would follow, and, joined to history, an account of the religion, manners, and customs of the people, as affected by the historical narrative; a statement of the artificial lines of separation which have replaced natural boundaries in consequence of the wars, revolutions, or arbitrary changes which have characterized certain reigns or epochs; an exposition of the form or forms of government in vogue at different periods; and, finally, a chapter on trade and commerce, including a notice of indigenous products and manufactures. Maps, applicable to relations of territorial changes, would be of immense value; and a historian's criticism on these relations, if offered in that fair spirit which alone is justified in composing history, would be an indispensable complement.

The heroes of mythology and fable might be passed over with brief remark; but there is a classical period for Central Asia which our rising generations should not ignore. Khiva, resuscitated as Khwárizm, and its inhabitants remembered as the *Xorasmioi* of Herodotus, might be carried back to an early date indeed. If Bukhára could, in like manner, be identified—as has been assumed—with the Bazaría of Quintus Curtius, its origin would also be traced up to the good old times which supply first-lessons to public schools in England. Thomyris, the Boadicea of the Scythian plains—if historians, sound trustworthy in many details, are to be believed in this—ruled in the tracts bordering on the Aral Sea. Later historical characters, however, require a closer study than it has hitherto been

their lot to receive at the hands of our translators of Oriental annals. In the originals they were clearly intelligible human beings to the annalists as to their readers. Translated, they are but dry bones to European students, unless the translator, or other qualified exponent, endeavour to invest them with some kind of life. He may despair of imparting that strong individuality which Macaulay has succeeded in doing to James and William in English history; but he may seek more clearly than he usually does to explain the remarkable idiosyncrasy which has had such marvellous effect upon millions of Orientals. Jenghiz, Babar, Timúr, Akbar, Mahmúd of Ghazni—all these and many others are to the ordinary reader in this country simply names, or, at the most, shadowy figures of good or evil, conquerors and tyrants, or benefactors and models of enlightenment. Something more should be done with them if they are wanted as warnings or examples to future ages; or, if their lives and careers are to be utilized for the student of history, who would find in them that insight into Eastern character which is of the highest import in the Western curriculum of study.

The object of the present paper is not, however, to discuss the precise terms that should be applied to the several divisions of geography, nor the principle on which these divisions should be laid down, for purposes of general education. It is rather to show how the science itself might be rendered useful to a school of statesmen and politicians; to those who, having made the most of classical studies by achieving new translations, selecting apt quotations, and otherwise showing a real, honest appreciation of their favourite authors, are yet unable to affirm (the instance is given advisedly) whether Baghdad or Tehran is the capital of modern Persia!

But let us revert to the region selected as ground-work for a supposed text-book, and, leaving the scene of Russo-Afghan discussion with a hope that the present good understanding will be permanent, and the eventual solution

mutually satisfactory and honourable,* continue the geographical illustration south of Panjdeh and Sarakhs towards the Arabian Ocean. As it will be necessary to keep within certain limits, let these be found between the 58° and 60° meridians of E. longitude. Here there is a vast tract little cared for by Shah or Amir, though, for the most part, belonging to one or the other. About it a great deal is known in England through the operation of minor political missions, and the energy of individual explorers; but the knowledge is turned to no practical account, because it has long since been put aside as valueless, and the particular question from which it was originally acquired has been substantially shelved. This is not, however, the light in which it would have been regarded had a manual of political geography, such as above suggested in outline, been an essential part of the history taught in our public schools and from university chairs in the first two quarters of the present century. Had such been their training, our guardians of to-day might have seen in the lands under notice, not only the barren deserts displayed in incomplete maps, but countries through which a great commercial road once connected the East with the West; they would, haply, have pondered over that bygone traffic, and, under the pleasing retrospect, have felt gratified that England's thankless task of political arbitration and settlement might be supplemented by the more humane and philanthropic office of reviving national intercommunication. More than this, they would have noted the political uses of this outer frontier of India—this frontier outside a frontier which our interference once

* In the Proceedings of the French Geographical Society of the 10th of January last is the extract of a letter from M. Lessar, dated Maruchak, January 11th, from which the following passage may be quoted with satisfaction: "The cordial co-operation of the English Delegates has so well seconded our own sincere desire of terminating this question, that the whole frontier from Zulfakar to Maruchak has been fixed in the course of six weeks. We trust that the second part of our task, *i.e.*, the disposal of the tract between the Murghab and Oxus, will present no greater difficulties than the first; and that all be concluded about April or May, 1886."

formally exercised has caused to be respected. They might, moreover, have lit upon a method to convert that hastily and imperfectly defined frontier into a bold, unmistakable line which, if carried on from Herat to a seaport in Makrán, might have taken the form of an international railway by which Russia would have found an outlet to the sea without disturbing the peace of nations. In fine, such lessons of political geography, drawn up for supplying all useful information on particular lands and people, would enable those who had learned them to be prepared for all accidents, and thus deprive accidents themselves of the character of emergencies.

Half a century ago—short of some five years—the writer of these lines was in the Hongkong waters, on board of a foreign *corvette* (its nationality is of no consequence, for be it noted that things are very differently managed now by the same people, whose navy has made immense progress in more modern times), when a sudden change in the weather gave indication of a coming typhoon. In an instant all was confusion and uproar; the presence of visitors was more or less disregarded; the air was filled with sounds amid which the needed orders were barely to be distinguished from superfluous shouting, and it is an open question whether the captain himself did not seize a capstan-bar and flourish it over his head. It was a source of satisfaction to the British guests to escape from the scene of bewilderment, and betake themselves to the humbler but more composed merchant-transports of their own country with which the harbour was filled. And very thankful did they feel that such a scene could not have been witnessed on board of any of Her Majesty's ships, where discipline and good sense go hand and hand together, and panic and disorder would be results diametrically opposed to every day's practice, training, and teaching. Our statesmen should belong to the same school as our sailors, whose bearing is equally calm and resolute in Eastern as in Western waters: but, alas! whatever their success in

Europe, the typhoon of Oriental politics often finds them weak when they should be determined, and flourishing an unmeaning capstan-bar when they should be issuing instructions with that clear and passionless voice which is the unfailing evidence of experience and mature judgment.

F. J. GOLDSMID.

VILLAGE SANITATION IN INDIA.

MUCH has been done within the last generation to promote sanitation in India. In the great Presidency cities, the capitals and commercial centres of Eastern, Southern, and Western India, adequate supplies of pure water have been provided; drainage has been greatly improved; scientific systems of sewerage have been devised and are now approaching completion; marshy spots have been, or are being, reclaimed; cleanliness is enforced, and the refuse of streets and houses is daily removed and utilized; overcrowding of dwellings is abated; building regulations are enforced with a view to secure light, aeration, water-supply, and necessary conveniences; gas lighting has been introduced; the streets and public places are watered, lighted, and swept, and new and spacious streets have been laid out; gardens and parks have been formed for the free use of the population. Much indeed remains to be done, and perhaps the Army Sanitary Commission are not wholly incorrect in insinuating an opinion, that as much progress has not been made as might have reasonably been anticipated twenty years ago. But still the results on the public health have been marvellous. A century ago Bombay, a comparatively insignificant town of less than 100,000 inhabitants, had much the same reputation as Sierra Leone has now, of being one of the deadliest places of residence, especially for Europeans, on the globe; two monsoons or rainy seasons, the saying went, were the life of a man. Now, with a population increased tenfold, the general death-rate is, in ordinary years, less than 30 per 1000, and a large European population enjoy almost as good health as they would in England.

The Presidency cities, the seats of government, the centres of Western civilization, with large commercial wealth and intelligent trading and manufacturing populations, naturally took the lead in sanitary improvement. But it has of late years been spreading rapidly, under the influence of municipal institutions and of the gentle but ceaseless pressure brought to bear by the Governments and their officers, throughout the urban population of British India. It is not possible to describe in general terms the progress which sanitation has now made in municipal towns. It varies much in different places. In some of the larger cities, conservancy is very efficient, and extensive projects for water-supply, drainage, sewerage, have been framed on scientific principles, and have been carried out or commenced. In other petty municipalities all that has as yet been attempted is attention to the most ordinary rules of cleanliness. And in the great mass of towns the degree of sanitation as yet attained varies between these two extremes. Perhaps the following figures will give the best general idea of what is being done.

In 1883-4 there were in British India 894 municipal towns, containing a population of about 14½ millions. Their total municipal income was about £2,812,000 (281 lakhs of rupees). Of this sum, £358,000 were spent on conservancy; £220,000 on water-supply; £195,000 on drainage and sewerage; £689,000 on the construction and maintenance of roads, buildings, and other public works; £141,000 on lighting and watering roads; £119,000 on hospitals and dispensaries; £474,000 on the interest on, or repayment of, debt contracted chiefly for sanitary works. Thus £2,196,000 were spent upon objects directly conducive to the health or comfort of the population. Of the balance, the cost of the establishments required chiefly to supervise sanitary expenditure was £242,000; and the remainder was spent on education, birth and death registration, police, and other miscellaneous objects. The total municipal income has risen in seven years from

£1,968,000 to £2,812,000. An annual expenditure of this amount, steadily maintained and wisely applied, will within a generation effect a marked and salutary change in the sanitary conditions of the Indian urban population.

Nor would it be just to omit all mention here of the sanitary improvements, barracks, water-supply, drainage, conservancy, and the like, which have since 1860 produced so great and beneficial an effect upon the health of the army. The death-rate of the European army in India in 1883-4 was under 11 per 1000; of the native army, under 12 per 1000; figures which show more clearly than any description what military sanitation can do for troops in a tropical climate.

But of the total population of British India, 199 millions, only some 29 millions live in cities or towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants, the lowest limit to which municipal institutions can probably be extended with advantage. The remaining seven-eighths dwell in rural villages, of which there are more than half a million with less than 1,000 inhabitants each. It is among this vast rural population that zymotic diseases, cholera, small-pox, and, more than all, fever, rage almost unchecked by sanitary science (save, as regards small-pox, by vaccination, which is now widely extended), loading our registration returns with those appalling figures of more or less preventible mortality which are the despair of Indian health officers; lowering the general health, and therefore diminishing the happiness and the productive power of the population; and causing India to be regarded in Europe as the "nidus" and source of contagious disease.

To maintain a good sanitary condition in these rural villages is thus an object of even greater importance than to improve the health of the urban population. But, unfortunately, it is, in some respects, one more difficult to attain, and this chiefly for two reasons, that it is less easy to provide funds for sanitary purposes in poor villages than in towns, and less easy to frame a machinery for

their efficient administration if provided. I shall attempt, in the following pages, to indicate some of the points most deserving attention in the sanitary condition of Indian villages, and to offer a few suggestions as to their requirements. Though my observations refer specially to the Western Presidency, the part of India with which I am best acquainted, they apply, I believe, in the main to the the Provinces.

It should be premised that almost everywhere in India the dwellings of the whole population of a rural township or parish are huddled together on one site, and form what is really a town, however small. There is no such thing as the English farmstead, or labourer's cottage, standing by itself among the fields. The practice of dwelling close together doubtless arose from the need of mutual protection during the long ages, now happily past, of turbulence and insecurity. The first, and perhaps the most important, point in the sanitary condition of an Indian village is its water-supply. This may be either from a lake or pond, from a river or stream, or from wells.

Nothing so much conduces to the prosperity of an Indian village, or to the comfort of its inhabitants, as its possessing a good "tank" (Latin, *stagnum*; Portuguese, *tanque*), as an artificial lakelet is called by Anglo-Indians; the common native name is "talav." Some tanks, usually near large towns, are built entirely of cut stone, and have cost vast sums. Others, in hilly districts, constructed by damming a stream where it passes through a gorge, are almost lakes. But the ordinary village tank in the plains is really a pond, though often a very large one. It is formed by excavating across a channel, or rather depression in the surface of the soil, by which the rain-water drains off the country during the monsoon, and using the earth dug out to make a long, low embankment or "bund" below the excavation to dam back the rain-water. The tank thus formed is of course deepest close to the "bund." In October, just after the cessation of the periodical rains, it spreads

in a wide, shallow sheet over, perhaps, forty or fifty acres; then it rapidly shrinks under the influence of evaporation and of the demands of irrigation, till in May it is diminished to a muddy pool of an acre or two close to the embankment. The surface thus exposed is usually cultivated with wheat, peas, &c., sown in the drying mud.

Such a tank, as it appears about Christmas-tide, rises before the vision of my memory as I write. Its broad surface takes a tender azure from the cloudless sky of an Indian winter. The millet and the rice have been harvested, and the stubble fields they occupied are golden brown; but beyond the water you see wide verdant sheets of young wheat and "gram," the dark green of the waving "toor," the gold and orange of mustard and safflower, the delicate blue of the flowering linseed, the snow-sprinkled verdure of cotton, contrasted with the deep rich brown of an occasional fallow. From among the rushes which border the feeding channel the snipe rises with his frightened croak, and, circling far in the blue heavens, drops again in his favourite haunt. There are a few couples of teal or coot swimming gaily in mid-water, or diving among the golden water-lilies. On the brink move the "paddy-birds," the lovely little white egret of India; a gorgeous peacock comes down to drink; and on the bank beyond stalk a pair of "saras," the stately crane with crimson head, sometimes dancing their queer minuet to amuse the young bird which keeps carefully between its parents. From the crops rise with a whirl the grey quail and the beautiful painted partridge, and in the distance you may see a graceful antelope bounding across the fields. As you walk on, what seems a log lying on the edge slips into the water with a slight splash; it is a "magar," the marsh crocodile of India, which has been basking in the sun. All beyond the tank is an open sheet of cultivation, but upon the "bund," near to the village, grow thickets of "babuls" (*Acacia Arabica*), with their balls of perfumed gold, and the bottle-shaped nests of the weaver-birds hang pendant from their branches.

Beyond them rise stately trees, the tamarind, the banian, the pipal, the ain, perhaps a palm or two, through which you catch a glimpse of the red and brown roofs of the village. These trees are full of life. Pretty little striped squirrels peep over the branches; flocks of green paraquets dash in and out with ceaseless chatter; doves moan above; the monkeys leap from bough to bough. High in the banian tree you may see the great pendant combs of the wild bees; beware how you offend them, or your only refuge will be a plunge neck-deep in the tank. Below, the beautiful green fly-catcher gives his restless gyrations; the crowned hoopoe struts; the black "king of the crows" looks scornfully at his subjects foraging in the dust; from the bank darts the grey kingfisher, and, poised beak downwards for an instant in mid-air, drops with a splash like a stone and re-appears with his prey, a tiny fish. Round the village ricks and threshing-floor flocks of "juari-birds," the handsome Indian starling, feed on the scattered grain, rising in clouds to take refuge in the trees when disturbed by an approaching step. At morn and evening long strings of cattle cross the open, dusty space which separates the village from the tank, and of apathetic buffaloes, whose only emotion seems to be the delight of wallowing in the cool water. Across this space also pass ceaselessly groups of graceful Hindu women, in their flowing robes of bright colours, to fill at the tank the earthen or brazen vessels of immemorial form, which they balance so skilfully on their heads; to wash the household vestments at the white steps which descend to the water; or to pray for offspring or for a husband's life or love at the little shrine of Ganpati or of Mata among the "babuls."

Round the huge trunk, bedaubed with sacred red, of the great banian tree which stands by itself between the village and the tank, is a low earthen platform. On it at eventide gather the village elders, smoking their "hukahs" and talking, while the little naked children play in the dust around. Perhaps they are discussing the prospects of the

crops, the course of prices, the knavery of the money-lender, or the disposition and manners of the new English magistrate, and the craze which leads him to insist on the removal of the dunghills from the site in the middle of the village they have occupied ever since the time of Vikram Raja, the King Arthur of Western India. Perhaps—for too many an Indian village is “be-tarfi,” or divided into factions—they are wrangling over the nomination to a vacant village office as fiercely as English village politicians on the eve of an election, and with even stronger language; or, still worse, they may be discussing in whispers some cunningly devised fable which will induce the magistrate to believe the heads of the opposite faction guilty of an assault or a robbery. Still, Indian ryots are good people, cheerful, kindly, sober, industrious, and, *exceptis excipiendis*, thrifty and honest, and the more you know of them the better you like them.

A good tank, then, yielding an ample and unfailing supply for irrigation, for cattle, and for domestic purposes, keeping moist the soil around it, and even by its evaporation tempering the fierce dry heat of an Indian spring, is of inestimable value to a village. But, it must be allowed, its water is very far from being fit to drink. Its catchment area is fouled with all manner of filth, which the first rain carries into it. Bodies, even of those who have died of small-pox or cholera, are too often burnt on its banks. The persons and clothes of the village population, and everything else which is dirty, are constantly washed in it, as Ahab's gory chariot was washed in the pool, or tank, of Samaria. Cattle stand and wallow in it. And the fierce hot winds of April and May raise clouds of dust, full of all organic impurities, which are precipitated into the tank. By the end of the dry weather the water left would yield an analysis which would make Dr. Franklin's hair stand on end with horror.

Villages situated on large rivers are the best off for a pure and abundant water-supply, though the water of some rivers

is said to be unwholesome and to cause fever. But, perhaps the majority of streams cease to flow (at least above ground, for there is usually a current below the sandy bed) in hot weather, and the stagnant pools left in them are very unwholesome. In May, 1863, I was encamped on duty at a large village situated on such a stream. Cholera was raging in the village, and I found that the people had no water except that of these pools, in which also they washed their persons and clothes, and which were horribly offensive. I dug at once several wells, or holes, in the sand under the further bank of the wide channel of the stream, which yielded an ample supply of water at least fairly pure, and I placed sentries to prevent the people from resorting to the pools. Cholera immediately began to abate, and in a few days disappeared. But the people petitioned Government against my "zulm," or tyranny, in compelling the women to walk a hundred yards farther in the sun for water. This illustrates one of the difficulties of sanitation to which I shall have to refer further on.

The commonest source of water-supply are the wells generally very wide, and sometimes very deep, so common all over India. It is pretty to see the groups of gaily-clad girls waiting their turn to let down their vessels, and pleasant, sitting in one's tent under a spreading tree, with a cup of tea and a cigar after a long hot morning ride, to listen to their chatter, and (if the well is also used for irrigation) to the creak of the pulley as the great leather bucket is lifted by two pair of oxen; to the wild monotonous chant of the driver, and then to the splash and gurgle of the cool water as it rushes from the inverted bucket into the cistern which feeds the irrigation channel. But the water is often not good. Very likely the well is too near the village, and taps soil soaked with organic impurities. It is uncovered, and rotting leaves, dust and dirt, fall into it and foul the water. And the rinsings of clothes washed on its edge drip or percolate back into it. Hence the water of many fine wells is condemned by health officers as unfit to drink.

The next consideration is that of drainage. By this I do not mean sewerage, which in most villages is neither practicable nor, from the habits of the people, necessary, but simple surface drainage. Indian villages are commonly built on some knoll or rising ground, so that their drainage should be easy and effectual. But, owing to the way in which the village is laid out, this is by no means the case. The streets or lanes, narrow, tortuous, and with hardly any attempt at paving, constantly end in a *cul-de-sac*; where the surface water should flow off, it is dammed back by a house or a wall. Even if this is not the case, there are no gutters to carry off the water; it soaks into the soil in the rains, and converts the streets and the unpaved yards of the houses into deep fetid mud. The sullage also from the kitchens and bathing-places of the houses, and from the cattle-sheds, is simply suffered to flow into the street or yard there to stagnate. Then the village is full of holes and hollows, half full of rubbish and garbage, in which the water collects during the rains, and stays till it dries up in the fair season with a noisome stench. It is the constant dampness of the soil of villages, its being soaked with offensive matter, and the fetid exhalations arising from it, which, probably more than any other cause, produce the fevers from which the population continually suffer, and which contribute most largely to the mortuary returns.

The conservancy, or rather the utter absence of conservancy, is another important point. Where, as is sometimes the case, there are cesspools, they are seldom cleaned, are very offensive, and contaminate the soil and the water of wells near them. But, usually, the whole population resort to the fields and hedges near the village. If they would adopt the Mosaic rule, this would be probably the safest and healthiest arrangement. But as it is, the environs of every village are in a state impossible to describe in an article of this kind. The cattle and domestic animals are kept within the village, often under the same

roof as the dwelling-place. The manure heaps are also generally within the village. And, though the insides of dwellings are almost always beautifully clean, their waste and garbage are swept out into the street, to be trampled into the foul mud in the rains, and in the dry weather to be blown about the village till they rot; or, at best, are thrown upon the dunghill, or into one of the holes I have mentioned above.

Finally, many of the domestic habits of the people are not conducive to health. The practice of sleeping on the ground on thin mats, instead of on the "charpais" or native bedsteads, which cost very little, and are indeed usually to be found in the houses though used for other purposes, is almost universal. It is preferred, so the people say, as being cooler; but the effect of sleeping almost in direct contact with ground damp as I have described must be injurious. The ventilation of the houses is often imperfect, and, especially when cattle or other animals are kept under the same roof, is a source of disease. Some sanitary authorities consider the practice of "leaping" the floors, or covering them with a hard surface of mixed clay and cow-dung, to be dangerous, though a Hindu woman looks on this as essential to cleanliness. And lime-washing is not as common or as frequent as it should be.

I have thus roughly sketched the principal sanitary defects of Indian villages. I now turn to the means of remedying these defects.

As regards water-supply, there is usually one thing only to be done—to provide good wells. Fortunately, this is seldom impracticable. Where there is a tank or a stream, wells may almost always be constructed which will yield an ample supply of wholesome water by percolation. In other villages, where wells exist, they can often be placed in a good sanitary condition at no great expense, or, if not, new wells with pure sources of supply can generally be constructed in another situation. This costs money, which the village alone often cannot or will not afford. But much is

being done from local funds. In the Bombay Presidency, all occupied land pays a special cess of 6½ per cent. on its assessment to Government revenue, a portion of which is devoted to primary education; the remainder, under the control of the Local Government committees, to useful public works; and a system differing from this only in details prevails in other provinces. The local committees now devote a considerable sum annually to aid villages within their circles in improving their water-supply; and every year a considerable number of wells are thus constructed or put in order. In Bombay, in 1884, about 157,000 rupees were spent in this way, in aid of the contributions of the villagers. By steady perseverance in this course, to the necessity of which Government and generally the local bodies are fully alive, a great improvement in the general water-supply of villages will be effected within no long period. And it should be added, that many village wells are yearly constructed by private benevolence, this being one of the good works which his religion specially enjoins on the wealthy and charitable Hindu. The chief difficulty is to induce the people to confine themselves for drinking purposes to pure water when it has been supplied—a difficulty to which I shall again refer.

To remedy the other defects I have described, no large expenditure, it will have been seen, is requisite. Almost all that is needed is, in the words of Mr. Hewlett, the able and energetic Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Bombay, "simple cleanliness."

The first and indispensable thing to be done is to persuade the people generally, or at least the most influential classes, of the need of sanitation, and to indoctrinate them with its elementary principles. And this is not easy. In the case of water, for instance, I have shown above that the people will not willingly incur a little extra labour to fetch pure water. A woman will draw water from a polluted tank, and, letting it stand for a few hours till the mud has settled to the bottom of the jar, will say

that it is sweeter and softer than the water of a pure well; her ancestors always drank it, and why should not she; finding it difficult to conceive that water which is nice to the taste may contain the invisible germs of disease. The ryots, again, cannot easily realize that a dunghill which has been in the middle of the village for generations can be unhealthy, that the filth of cattle is dangerous near a house where they have always stood, or that the air of the village is contaminated by the stench of ordure or of rotting refuse near it but out of sight. Their notion of sanitation is to deposit offensive matter in some corner where it is not seen. Nevertheless, I believe that all the people generally want is teaching on such points as these. They have a natural tendency to cleanliness. Ceremonial purity is of the essence of their religion. The insides of their houses, as I have said, are well kept; a Hindu housewife would be ashamed of visible dirt. And in their persons (I refer, of course, to the Hindus, the low or out-castes are mostly exceedingly filthy) they are scrupulously clean. My own experience—which is not inconsiderable in municipal affairs—is, that where effective sanitation has once been introduced, the people soon begin to appreciate its benefits, and are the first to complain if they think it is being neglected. And there are cases where the people in small towns have voluntarily formed sanitary committees.

Much is being done to teach the people, and especially the rising generation, the elements of sanitation. In 1879, the Government of India issued an excellent sanitary primer, which is, I believe, very generally taught in schools. Every municipal town is, in its degree, a centre for the diffusion of sanitary knowledge in the surrounding district. And the officers of Government, especially the inspectors of vaccination, who are the rural health officers, are unceasing in their efforts to explain to the people the first principles of the science. I would particularly mention the sanitary dialogues prepared a few years ago by Dr. Bellew, Sanitary Commissioner in the Punjab, and the admirably simple and

intelligible instructions to village head-men lately published by Mr. Hewlett.

But when, which I repeat is essential, we have made the people understand to some extent the elementary rules of health, there must be some authority to enforce necessary regulations, and some machinery to carry out the sanitation of the village, to effect its daily cleansing and the diurnal removal of all its filth, and to construct the small sanitary works, surface drainage, reclamation of foul spots and the like, which are wanted.

I have mentioned above that, at least in most provinces, the inspectors of vaccination, generally able and energetic medical men in the service of the Government, are also rural health officers. Their vaccination duties lead them to traverse constantly the rural districts, and to see much of the inner life of the people, while their professional knowledge gives them a clear insight into the sanitary defects and needs of the villages. It is their duty, a duty which most of them perform with much zeal and no inconsiderable success, to explain to the people and to bring to the notice of the local authorities and of the Government these defects and requirements. But they have no executive authority.

It has been proposed to supersede this system by a regularly organized sanitary service, with executive authority to compel the adoption of the suggestions its officers may make. Such a service, however, if sufficiently numerous to be really efficient, would be very costly: it would add to the number of authorities from whom the villagers have to receive orders, which is already too great, and is one of the weak points of our administration; and, as it would naturally look solely to sanitation, it would be apt to harass and annoy the people by injudicious interference with their prejudices, or by demanding works beyond their means. And, after all, it would effect little; it might issue orders, but the machinery to carry them out does not exist.

To meet the latter difficulty, a system of communal forced labour has been suggested. Every inhabitant of the

village would be legally bound to aid in giving effect to the directions of the sanitary authority by his personal labour or, of course, by paying a substitute. I cannot but think that such a system, if not, as it well might be, actually dangerous, would be so universally disliked as to be inefficient. Forced labour is always, and justly, unpopular; its general abolition is always reckoned as one of the benefits conferred by British rule, and it does not now exist save in a few places to meet emergencies, such as the threatened bursting of reservoirs, which are generally and imminently dangerous to the locality. Sanitary forced labour would be far more unpopular than any other. You cannot insult a respectable Hindu more than by telling him to take a broom and sweep, since this implies that he is an out-caste whose business it is to do so, and that is what this law would amount to. Finally, such a law would merely occasion spasmodic efforts to "clean up," when the appearance of the health officer might be looked for every two or three years, which might do more harm than good, and would not ensure the constant daily effort and attention which is really needed.

Since measures of reform on such lines as these will be attended with difficulties, and are not likely to produce any considerable improvements, it would seem better to fall back on the ancient village organization of the country, and to attempt to utilize for sanitary purposes its immemorial machinery.

Except in Bengal, where it can hardly be said to exist, the village community prevails almost throughout India, under one of two general types. Under the joint form, most common in Upper India, the village is ruled by a committee, or "Panchayet," of its hereditary elders, members of the proprietary body, a village aristocracy; under the simple form, prevalent in the west and south, by a single head-man (or exceptionally by two head-men, between whom the functions are divided), the chief of the governing family, if there is but one, or their representatives, if there are

more families than one. In either case, the "Panchayet," or the head-man, is assisted by the village accountant, an officer, sometimes hereditary, sometimes stipendiary, usually belonging to one of the literary castes, and possessing a certain amount of education. In what follows, I refer specially to the simple form of village government. But a system suitable with single head-men needs only some differences in detail to render it applicable to village committees, and indeed the latter probably possess some advantages for sanitary administration.

I should be disposed, then, under due control and with proper precautions (which are very necessary, since some head-men are disposed to make use of their powers to annoy people on bad terms with them), to entrust the sanitary authority in villages to the head-men assisted by the accountants. In Madras and Bombay the head-men already possess police powers and magisterial jurisdiction in certain trifling cases, and, under the Bombay Village Police Act of 1867, the "Patel," as he is there called, when specially authorized by Government, even now has some sanitary authority, and is empowered to punish, by a trifling fine or by a day's confinement, certain sanitary offences, such as defiling the water-supply, or the committing or occasioning nuisances. These powers might, perhaps, be both extended and enlarged with advantage. It would probably be impracticable to extend them at once to all head-men, but this should be the ultimate object; and the generality of "Patels" might perhaps even now receive them, so that the not possessing them should be looked on as exceptional and discreditable. And the powers under the Act might also be enlarged, in the direction of giving the "Patel" greater initiative, since at present he can take action only on complaint received.

Some motive must however be supplied, if anything appreciable is to be effected, to induce the head-man to take an interest in, and to perform diligently and effectually, his sanitary functions. Such a motive must be sought in either

the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, and, while not overlooking the latter, the former should be chiefly relied on. The stipend which Bombay "Patels" receive—a percentage on the village revenue, often in the shape of exemption of their hereditary land from assessment—is small, while their duties and responsibilities have become of late years much more burdensome, and the control and supervision requisite to enforce the performance of their duties have inevitably tended to lower their position. It would be desirable to increase the stipend of each head-man and that of his accountant, while he is entrusted with sanitary authority, and to confer at the "Jumabundy," or annual meeting for the scrutiny of the village returns, some public mark of distinction, such as a "sirpao" or dress of honour, a sword or a pair of shawls, upon those "Patels" who might be found to have maintained their villages in the best sanitary condition.

If village sanitary authority can in this way be provided for, there remains the question of securing the agency requisite actually to carry out sanitation, without imposing new and oppressive burdens on the villagers.

It is well known that a village community originally comprised, as indeed to some extent it still does, a staff of officials commonly called in Western India "Balute-Alute." They all had duties to the community, and in some cases to the Government also. For the latter, they were generally remunerated by bits of land revenue free; for the former, by grain-dues at harvest, such as one handful out of each bushel of corn, and by other perquisites, which were looked on as analogous to, and as much a right as, the revenue of the Government, and were like it summarily recoverable. They comprised, as well as the head-man and accountant, the carpenter, potter, and blacksmith, the washerman and barber, the priest and bard; and also the menial village servants, low-caste people, known as Mahars, Mhangs, Dhers, Mehters, Bhangis, and by other tribal names. These people, under the orders of the head-man, performed certain

duties for Government, such as to attend in revenue collections and field-inspections, to carry messages, to escort treasure, and the like. To the villagers they rendered many services, the chief of which was that of scavenging. But the especial thing to notice is that the whole tribe resident in the village, perhaps a dozen families, men, women, and children, was equally liable to the services, and equally had rights to the remuneration. Their duties and emoluments were allotted among them by a chief, or "Makadam," of their own, under the orders of the "Patel," and they usually worked as agricultural labourers when not engaged in their professional duties.

When, thirty or forty years ago, the first regular settlements of Land Revenue were being made in Bombay, a measure which involved a decision upon many disputed matters in the administration of each village, the relations of the cultivating village communities with the "Balute," especially these menial servants, were found to be much strained. The latter complained of their dues being withheld; the former, that the services were not properly performed, or were unnecessary; while the dues were found to be a heavy burden on the cultivators, then in a depressed condition. This question was generally settled upon the following lines. Services rendered to Government were distinguished from those rendered to the community. For the performance of the former duties, if still required, one or two "officiators" were appointed from each family hereditarily liable to the service, who alone were to be called on to render them, and who were remunerated by fixed stipends. With regard to the latter duties, the people were told that Government would no longer interfere to enforce either the fulfilment of the services or the payment of the dues; and that they must arrange the matter amongst themselves. If the services were performed satisfactorily, they were told that the dues should be paid, and if not, not; and that disputes might be brought to the civil court for decision, a way of evading

an administrative difficulty which has unfortunately been too common in India. And the civil courts when appealed to in general, I believe, decided that the claim on the one hand to the customary service, on the other to the customary due, was not enforceable by suit.

It is not necessary to discuss the propriety of this settlement. Its result has been to transform the original, semi-socialistic, system of customary work and customary remuneration into the modern economical system of contract labour; and this change, under the influence of European ideas and English administration, was sure to take place sooner or later. But as regards the position of the village menials and the subject of this paper, the alteration, I am sure, has been disastrous, and indeed it would not have been adopted had village sanitation been then as well understood, or thought of as great importance, as now. The head-men can enforce neither the service nor its remuneration; the menials will not work because they are not sure of being paid; the villagers, or some of them, withhold the dues on the plea that the work has not been done, or that they do not desire it; the communities suffer for want of the scavenging which there is now no one to do; the menials by being reduced from a certain though small subsistence to dependence on precarious agricultural labour, which indeed has led many of them to abandon their ancestral villages, and to wander in search of wages or to take to thieving. It appears to me most desirable that legislative power should be taken to remedy this state of things. The customary dues in each village should then be ascertained, and the head-men should be empowered to enforce both payment of the dues and the performance by the low-caste families who claim to share them of such sanitary services as might be required of them.

By some such measures as those above suggested, and by these alone, I believe that it will be possible to improve materially the sanitary condition of Indian villages, and the health of the rural population.

W. G. PEDDER.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA.

"IT is a duty towards God incumbent on those who are able to go thither to visit this house" [Becca or Mecca] (Quran, Sura 3). Thus decreed the Prophet, the law-giver of Arabia, and for more than twelve centuries the injunction has been observed with a pious zeal and ardent fervour which put to shame the apathetic indifference of the civilized West. Volumes have been written by Muslim commentators in regard to this pilgrimage to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Madina, some laying more and some less stress upon the duty. Without seeking to follow them, we may assert that, whatever be the *precise* value which Muhammad attached to the ceremony, he considered the discharge of the duty so important that he who passes through life without fulfilling the injunction, "Perform the pilgrimage of Mecca" (Quran, Sura 2), may as well die a Jew or a Christian. Nor must it be overlooked that the Prophet of Islam made the "Hajj" one of the five pillars or foundations of practice in the religion of Arabia.

Every Muslim is therefore bound to visit Mecca at least once during his lifetime, but there is a saving clause—provided he is "able" to do so. The discussions as to the definition of the elastic qualification attached to the injunction of the Prophet have been endless and undecided. As a general rule, however, intending votaries must comply with four conditions: (1) Profession of the faith of Islam; (2) adolescence, generally fixed at the age of fifteen; (3) freedom from slavery; (4) mental sanity. To these some authorities add four more requirements, viz.: (1) Sufficiency of provision; (2) the possession of a beast of burden, if

living more than two days' journey from Mecca; (3) security on the road; and (4) ability to walk two stages if the pilgrim have no beast. Others, again, include all conditions under two heads: (1) health, and (2) ability. It is even maintained by some, that those who have money enough, if they cannot go themselves, may hire another to go to Mecca in their stead. But this privilege in the early days of Islam was very sparingly if ever used, and even now most of the orthodox sects hold that pilgrimage cannot be performed by proxy. None the less, if a Muhammadan on his death-bed bequeath a sum of money to be paid to some person to visit Mecca, it is considered to satisfy the claims of the Muslim law. It is also decreed a meritorious act to pay the expenses of those who cannot afford to obey the injunction of the Prophet. Many pilgrims, too poor to be able to collect the money which their religion requires them to spend for this purpose, beg their way, and live upon the charity of those who are blessed with means and a benevolent heart to help their necessitous brethren. Even females are not excused from the performance of the pilgrimage, and one portion of the temple is called "*Has-watu'l Harim*," or "the women's sanded place," because it is appropriated to devotees of the feminine gender. But the weaker sex are forbidden to go alone. If, therefore, a fair lady have no husband or near relation as a protector, she must select some virtuous person worthy of confidence to accompany her, his expenses being charged to her account. This circumstance gives rise to a curious illustration of supply and demand. There are a class of idle and impudent scoundrels known as "*dalils*," or guides, who besiege the pilgrim from morn till eve, obtruding advice whether it be sought or not, and sharing the votary's meals, but *not* his expenses, of which indeed they pocket a portion. These worthless vagabonds are wont, when the occasion presents itself, to let themselves out as husbands for rich old widows who repair to Mecca, or, when they get the opportunity, lend their services to some

younger matrons who may have chanced to lose their spouses on the road, it being meritorious and profitable to facilitate the progress of desolate ladies through the sacred territory of Arabia. The marriage under these circumstances, though formally arranged in the presence of the "Qazi," or magistrate, is merely nominal, and a divorce is given on the return of the parties to Jeddah or elsewhere beyond the limits of the sacred territory. Pilgrimage is not obligatory upon slaves, who, should they accompany their masters to Mecca, must none the less on being released from bondage again repair to the Holy City as "free men."

It need scarcely be said that Muhammad, ready as he was to impose the pilgrimage as a duty upon others, was no less willing to accept the obligation himself, while after his death the Khalifs who succeeded him gloried in following his example; though it is but fair to add that they journeyed in many cases with great pomp and luxury at the head of a magnificent retinue. The devout practice continued certainly as late as the time of Khalif Harun Rashid, who early in the ninth century visited Mecca no less than nine times; on one occasion expending, it is said, a sum of upwards of £700,000 sterling! If, however, his own confession is to be accepted, the result of his piety was satisfactory, inasmuch as he gained thereby numerous victories over his enemies—a circumstance which led him to inscribe on his helmet an Arabic passage to the effect that "he who makes the pilgrimage to Mecca becomes strong and valiant."

So firmly impressed, indeed, are the Muhammadans with the impiety of neglecting the decree of their Prophet with regard to the pilgrimage, that in A.H. 319 (A.D. 931-2) when, in consequence of the proceedings of the Karmathians, who, on one occasion during that period, slew 20,000 pilgrims, and plundered the temple of Mecca, the journey to the Holy Cities was too dangerous to be hazarded, devout Muslims rather than omit the duty altogether betook themselves to

Jerusalem. It is also recorded that a famous doctor, by name Hullahge, was put to death for having taught certain ceremonies and prayers to supply the neglect of performing the "Hajj." Great indeed must be the merit of bowing in adoration before the mosque of the Arabian sacred city, since it is taught that every step taken in its direction blots out a sin, while he who dies on his way is enrolled in the list of martyrs. In spite of all this (such is the weakness of human nature), Burckhardt (about 1815) found that Muhammadans were getting more lax in complying with the injunction of the Quran, pleading the increased expense attendant on the pilgrimage.

It must not, however, be supposed that Muhammad introduced this rite amongst the Arabs; far otherwise, for he merely lent to an institution which he found in existence the all-potent weight of his sanction and approval. Omitting reference to primeval times, it will suffice to draw attention to the fact that, so far back as the middle of the fifth century, or upwards of 200 years before the æra of the Prophet, the command of Mecca having passed into the hand of Qussai, "he maintained the Arabs," thus writes Tabari, one of the most trustworthy of native historians, "in the performance of all the prescriptive rites of pilgrimage, because he believed them in his heart to be a religion which it behoved him not to alter." Indeed, according to Sir W. Muir, who has carefully investigated the subject, "the religious observances thus perpetuated by Qussai were in substance the same as in the time of Muhammad, and with some modification the same as we still find practised at the present day." It is not improbable that the Arabs in turn borrowed the notion of pilgrimage from the Jews. According to Muslim divines man being but a "wayfarer," wending his steps towards another world, the "Hajj" is emblematical of his transient condition here below. The idea, though admittedly poetical, is so far borne out in practice that pilgrimage is common to all faiths of olden times. In the words of a modern writer, "the

Hindus wander to Egypt, to Thibet, and to the inhospitable Caucasus : the classic philosophers visited Egypt, the Jews annually flocked to Jerusalem, and the Tartars and Mongols (Buddhists) journey to distant Lamaserais. The spirit of pilgrimage was predominant in mediæval Europe, and the processions of the Roman Catholic Church are, according to her votaries, modern memorials of the effete rite."

From time immemorial the object of pilgrim worship has been the temple of Mecca, for which an antiquity is claimed dating back 2,000 years before the Creation! The tradition runs that when the Almighty informed the celestial throng of angels that He was about to send a Vicegerent on earth they deprecated the design. "God knoweth what ye know not," was the gentle reproof. Allah thereupon created a building in heaven with four jasper pillars and a ruby roof: which done He ordered the angels to make a like edifice for man on earth. According to some authorities this latter house was supposed to have been erected by Adam when first he appeared on this globe, while others are of opinion that it was not constructed till after his expulsion from Eden: when, no longer able to hear the angels' prayers, he was mercifully allowed a place wherein to worship his Creator. On Adam's death his tabernacle was taken to heaven, so say the Muslim legends, and a building composed of stone and mud was placed in its stead by his son Seth. Some hold the view that the latter temple was destroyed by the Deluge, while others declare that the pillars were allowed to remain. Information regarding the fourth house is more precise. It was erected by Abraham and his son upon the old foundations, while the Angel Gabriel brought the "Black Stone" from the mountains, and caused the patriarch to place it in its present corner to mark the spot where the complicated rites of pilgrimage, into the mysteries of which the "Friend of God" was then initiated, should begin.

The Amalika, or descendants of Ham the son of Noah, who settled near Mecca, raised the fifth house; while the

sixth was built about the Christian era by the Bani Jorham, the first of the Hebrews to abandon their mother tongue and adopt the dialect of the Arabs, from amongst whom their founder had married a wife.

The celebrated Qussai, the forefather in the fifth generation of the Prophet, built the seventh house according to the design which Abraham had previously adopted; but this temple was burned by fire through the accident of a woman's censer setting light to some drapery, and to complete the destruction the walls were afterwards destroyed by a torrent. The Quraish tribe who rebuilt the house were assisted by the crew of a merchant vessel wrecked at Jeddah, while the ship itself afforded material for the roof. This happened during the time of Muhammad, who first gained repute amongst his kinsmen and friends by his ingenious settlement of a dispute as to the "Black Stone."

In A.H. 64 (A.D. 683-4) Abdollah bin Jubayr, nephew of the Prophet's widow Ayisha, erected the House of God on the ninth occasion, its predecessor having shared the fate of the fifth house, inasmuch as fire injured the building and split the "Black Stone." When finished the new temple was perfumed internally and externally, and covered with brocade, after which one hundred victims were slain in honour of the completion of the House of God.

But it was found that certain unauthorized additions to and changes in the more sacred portions of the house had been made; so in A.H. 74 (A.D. 693-4) one Hajjaj bin Yasuf was charged to rebuild the edifice. The greater part of the present temple (the tenth) dates from this period, but in A.H. 1030 (A.D. 1620-21), a violent storm so damaged the walls that the building had to be repaired on such an extensive scale as to constitute a new house—the eleventh of the series.

The sanctity of the Holy of Holies is of course a fundamental article of belief with the entire Muslim world, and, as might be expected, no effort has been spared to prove to mankind how the Almighty has blessed the house

where His honour dwelleth. But space precludes further reference to the temple, and we pass on to the pilgrimage itself, which, it may be stated, must be performed between the seventh and tenth days of the month Zu'l Hijja, a visit to Mecca at any other time not having the full merit attaching to that act of piety if undertaken at the enjoined period. Hence the Muhammadan year being lunar, while the seasons are regulated by the sun, the time of the "Hajj" varies every twelvemonth, and occurs in spring, summer, autumn, or winter, as the case may be, the entire change being completed during a cycle of thirty-two years. This year (1886) the pilgrimage will commence on September 6th.

The ceremony is of three kinds : (1) the lesser pilgrimage (Umra), performed at any time save the appointed season ; (2) the simple pilgrimage (Hajj), undertaken at the appointed period ; and (3) the greater pilgrimage (Hajju'l Akbar), the usual "Hajj" carried into execution when the day of "'Arafat" (of which more anon) falls on a Friday.

As regards the lesser pilgrimage it is only necessary to state that it is generally confined to a journey to a mosque about six miles from Mecca, whence, after prayer, the votary repairs to the Holy City and performs the "Tawaf" and "Sai" (to be hereafter described) ; he then shaves his head, lays aside his pilgrim's garb (Ihram), and all is finished. This act of piety and devotion may be performed at any season of the year, but it is considered especially meritorious during the sacred month "Rajab," which forms a break in the middle of the eight secular months.

When the votary performs the "Hajj" and the "Umra" together, as was done by the Prophet on the occasion of his last visit to Mecca, it is termed "Al Muqarinna" (the meeting) ; "Al Ifrad" (singulation) is when either the "Hajj" or the "Umra" is undertaken separately ; but in any case the former must precede the latter. A third description, termed "Al Tamattu" (possession), is when the pilgrim assumes the "Ihram," and does not cast it aside throughout the months "Shavval," "Zu'l Qada," and

nine days (ten nights) in "Zu'l Hijja," performing the "Hajj" and "Umra" the while.

Sir W. Muir says that, "according to the rules of Islam; the pilgrim must resolve before he assumes the pilgrim garb which pilgrimage he will perform."

The Musulman who has performed the pilgrimage is called "Haji."

Upon the votary's arrival at the last stage (of which there are five) about five or six miles from Mecca, he bathes himself and assumes the sacred robe which is called "Ihram." This latter, however, may be taken into wear at other spots, the farther from Mecca the greater the merit, consequently some poor wretches from India and Egypt travel the whole journey in this costume. As a rule, however, those who come from Hindustan array themselves in the befitting costume the day previous to their arrival at Jeddah. The "Ihram" consists of two new cotton seamless cloths, each six feet long by three and a half broad, the colour being white with narrow red stripes and fringes. One of these garments, called "Izar," is wrapped round the loins from the waist to the knee, and knotted or tucked in at the middle; the other, known as the "Radha" which is knotted at the right side, being thrown loosely over the back exposing the arm and shoulder, while leaving the head uncovered. It is allowable, however, to carry an umbrella should health require such a protection against the weather. Women dispense with the "Ihram," some attiring themselves in the veil usually worn by their sex in the East, while others put on, for the occasion, a large white veil in which they envelop themselves down to their feet. The veils, in common with the "Ihrams" worn by the men, being sanctified by use, are religiously kept by pilgrims during their life, in order to serve at death as their winding-sheets.

Nothing is allowed upon the instep, a prohibition precluding the use of shoes or boots. Sandals are made at Mecca expressly for the pilgrimage. The poorer classes cut off the upper leather of an old pair of shoes.

After the pilgrims have assumed the garb enjoined by the Prophet, they must not anoint their head, shave any part of the body, pare the nails, or wear any other garment than that described above, even scratching is not permissible, lest perchance vermin be destroyed, or a hair uprooted; accordingly it is a general practice to call the "barber" into requisition immediately before donning the "Ihram," the head is then shaved, the nails are cut, and the mustachios trimmed—thus much for the men; the weaker sex gather up their hair and cut off about four fingers' length. It is further forbidden while clad in the garment of sanctity to hunt wild animals, or to kill those which were such originally; but the pilgrim may destroy five noxious creatures, viz., kites, crows, rats, scorpions, and dogs given to biting. Trees are to be spared, as also self-growing plants, but it is allowable to cut grass. For each infraction of these ordinances it is incumbent to sacrifice a sheep as an indication that the offender is worthy of death.

After the toilet is completed the pilgrim, turning the face in the direction of Mecca, says aloud some Arabic words, which may be rendered, "I vow this Ihram of Hajj and the Umra to Allah Almighty." It is also customary at this stage to raise the "Talbiya"—literally translated it runs thus:

"Here I am, O Allah! here am I,
No partner hast Thou, here am I,
Verily praise and beneficence are thine, and the kingdom,
No partner hast Thou, here am I."

Immediately on arrival at Mecca, the pilgrim performs the legal ablutions. Entering the Holy City by day and on foot, a visit is at once paid to the sacred mosque, taking care that when the glance first alights upon the "Ka'ba" (Holy of Holies), the following or some similar words are uttered: "O Allah! increase this Thy house in degree and greatness and honour and awfulness, and increase all those who have honoured it and glorified it, the Hajis and Mutamirs [Umra performers], with degree and greatness and honour

and dignity." A visit is next paid to the "Black Stone," which is touched with the right hand, and then reverently kissed; that done the "Ka'ba" is encompassed seven times. This latter act, called "Tawaf," is performed commencing on the right and leaving the Holy of Holies on the left, the circuits being made thrice with a quick step or run, and four times at a slow pace. These processions are supposed to take their origin from the motions of the planets. The votary then repairs to the "Maqam Ibrahim," a hallowed and venerated spot in the temple of Mecca, and utters two prayers, after which steps are retraced to the "Black Stone," which is once again devoutly kissed. It should be stated that the devotions are performed silently by day, and aloud at night.

All visitors do not enter the "Ka'ba"; indeed there is a tradition that Muhammad himself, on being questioned as to the reason why he had passed the sacred portal, replied: "I have this day done a thing which I wish I had left undone. I have entered the Holy House, and haply some of my people, pilgrims, may not be able to enter therein, and may turn back grieved in heart: and, in truth, the command given to me was only to encircle the Ka'ba, it is not incumbent on any one to enter it." Those, however, who elect to tread the hallowed floor are mulcted in a nominal fee, equivalent to about four shillings per head, but the charge by no means exhausts the demands on the pilgrim's purse. Moreover, after visiting the sacred precincts a person is bound, amongst other things, never again to walk barefooted, to take up fire with the fingers, *or to tell an untruth*. The last mentioned is indeed "a consummation most devoutly to be hoped for," seeing that lying is to an Oriental "meat and drink, and the roof that covers him." It may here be mentioned that the "Ka'ba" is opened free to all comers about ten or twelve times in each year, while on other occasions the pilgrims have to collect amongst themselves a sum sufficient to tempt the guardians' cupidity. The mosque itself, there being no doors to the gateway, is

open at all times, and the people of Mecca love to boast that at no hour either by day or night is the temple without a votary to perform the "Tawaf."

The pilgrim afterwards repairs to the gate of the temple leading to Mount Safa, whence, ascending the hill and raising the cry of "Takbir" (praise to God), it is incumbent to implore pardon for past sins. This done, a descent is made preparatory to a clamber up the hill of Marwa, a proceeding called "As Sai" (running), and repeated several times. The prayer used on this occasion is as follows: "O my Lord, pardon and pity and pass over that sin which Thou knowest; verily Thou knowest what is not known, and verily Thou art the Most Glorious, the Most Generous. O our Lord! grant us in this world prosperity, and in the future prosperity, and save us from the punishment of fire." It is usual, in the case of male pilgrims, to run between Safa and Marwa, because Hagar the mother of Ishmael when in these parts is supposed to have sped in haste searching after water to preserve the life of herself and her hapless infant; but, notwithstanding the example thus set by one of their own sex, the women as a rule walk the distance. Some, however, are of opinion that the custom of running arose from the circumstance that on one occasion the infidel Meccans mocked the companions of the Prophet, and said that the climate of Madina had made them weak, whereupon this vigorous method was adopted to disprove the calumny.

The eighth of the month Zu'l Hijja is called "Tarwiya" (carrying water), and is probably commemorative of the circumstance that in the pagan period the Arabs used to spend their time in providing themselves with this necessary of life. On this day the worshipper unites with fellow pilgrims at a spot called Mina, in performing the usual services of the Muslim ritual, and stays the night at the last-mentioned locality. On the morning of the ninth, a rush is made to Mount 'Arafat, a holy hill which, says Burton—

"Owes its name and honours to a well-known legend. When our first parents forfeited heaven by eating wheat, which deprived them of their

præternatural purity, they were cast down upon earth. The serpent descended at Ispahan, the peacock at Kabul, Satan at Bilbays (others say Semmar or Seistan), Eve upon Arafat, and Adam at Ceylon. The latter, determining to seek his wife, began a journey to which earth owes its present mottled appearance. Wherever our first father placed his foot—which was large—a town afterwards arose, while between the strides will always be a 'country.' Wandering for many years he came to the mountain of mercy, where our common mother was continually calling upon his name, and their *recognition* gave the place the name of Arafat. Upon its summit Adam, instructed by the archangel, erected a 'Madah,' a place of prayer; and between the spot and the 'Nimra' Mosque the pair abode till death. Others declare that after recognition the first pair returned to India, whence for forty-four years in succession they visited the Holy City at pilgrimage time."

At Mount 'Arafat, after first performing early worship at the time of morn, when "a man cannot see his neighbour's face," the votary on arrival says two prayers with the Imâm (priest), and hears the "Khutba" or sermon (which generally lasts three hours!), the preacher all the while holding in his left hand a short staff, probably emblematical of the early days of Islam, when a sword was carried as a protection against surprise. Those present, to the number, it is said, of 70,000 souls of all nationalities, speaking as many as forty different languages, appear before the priest in ordinary clothes, the "Ihram" being laid aside for the occasion; any deficiency in number is supplied, it is said, by angels from heaven. This act of devotion is so all-important, that if the luckless pilgrim be too late to listen to the homily the labour of the journey is irretrievably lost. There must also be abundant supplication, while they who repeat 11,000 times the chapter of the Quran commencing, "Say he is our God," will obtain from Allah all that is desired!

When the sermon is finished the votary waits till sunset, preparatory to a visit to the Holy Hill. It is thought meritorious to accelerate the pace on quitting the mountain of Eve, and a strange race therefore ensues, called by the Arabs "Ad dafa' Min 'Arafat" (the pushing from Arafat). It may well be imagined that a huge camp three or four miles long and from one to two miles in breadth cannot pass through a comparatively narrow gorge without affrays occurring, and on some occasions as many as 200 lives

have been lost. It is a truly remarkable scene; innumerable torches are lighted, twenty-four being carried by the grandees, soldiers fire their muskets, martial bands play, sky-rockets are thrown into the air, and all the while the "Hajj" proceeds at a quick pace in the greatest disorder, amidst a deafening clamour, through the Pass of Mazinmain *en route* to Muzdalifa, at which latter place each pilgrim picks up several small pebbles, and repeats the sunset and evening prayers, after his work is done for the night.

The next morning, or third day of the pilgrimage is the great "day of days," distinguished in the East by several names. The Turks call it "Qurban Bayram" (the sacrifice of Bayram); to the Indians it is known as "Baqr Id" (the kine fête); while the Arabs designate it indifferently, "Idul Qurban" (the feast of sacrifice), "Idul Azha" (the feast of the forenoon), and "Idul Akbar" (the great feast)—the last mentioned being perhaps most commonly in use. The festival, which embraces the slaughter of an animal without spot or blemish, is supposed to commemorate the sacrifice of Ishmael* by Abraham, hence the name of "Qurban" (sacrifice) which it bears.

The pilgrim now proceeds to Mina, and repairs at once in succession to three places indicated by a like number of pillars, at each of which spots he takes one of the seven small stones brought from Muzdalifa, and having repeated a particular prayer over the same, and blown upon it, he throws it at a pillar. When the largest is reached, the pilgrim exclaims as he casts the pebble, "In the name of Allah—Allah is almighty—I do this in hatred of the Fiend and his shame." This action is repeated till all the stones are used. This curious custom, known as "ramy" (the throwing of the pebbles), is supposed to have its origin in the circumstance that once upon a time the devil, in the shape of an elderly Shaikh, appeared successively to Adam,

* The Muhammadans hold that it was Ishmael not Isaac who was miraculously saved from the death which the patriarch had intended to inflict upon his son.

Abraham, and Ishmael, but was driven back by the simple process, inculcated by the Angel Gabriel, of throwing stones about the size of a bean, a mode of exorcism fatal to the wiles of the enemy of mankind. The scene of these adventures is marked by pillars, one of which bears the characteristic appellation, "Shaitanu'l Kabir" (the Great Satan). Others incline to the view that Abraham, meeting the devil in this place, and being disturbed thereby in his devotions, and tempted to disobedience in the contemplated sacrifice of his son, was commanded by God to drive away the Fiend with stones. The "Shaitanu'l Kabir" is a dwarf buttress of rude masonry about eight feet high by ten and a half broad, placed against a rough wall of stones at the Meccan entrance to Mina. As each devotee strives to get as near to this pillar as possible before casting a stone thereat, fights and quarrels are of frequent occurrence, and many a broken limb or injured head betokens the pious zeal of the unhappy worshipper, whom no danger or difficulty can deter from carrying out to the letter the injunctions of the Prophet.

This dangerous ceremony finished, the pilgrim performs the usual sacrifice of the "Idu'l Azha" (feast of the forenoon). This is perhaps the most revolting spectacle which can well be pictured; thousands of animals are slaughtered in "the Devil's Punch Bowl," the number being variously estimated at from 80,000 to 200,000; the entrails are then cast about the valley in every direction, where they remain to rot and putrefy in the sun (arrangements have recently been made, I understand, for their burial); the effluvium, as may be supposed, passes imagination. In the midst of this loathsome scene may be beheld poor Hajis collecting morsels of flesh with greedy avidity, while negroes and Indians not infrequently employ themselves in cutting the meat into slices and drying it for their travelling provision. Such are the horrors of the valley of Mina; a spot so wonderful that it is said occasionally to extend itself so as to provide room for the votaries present at the ceremonies of which it is annually the scene, while orthodox Muslims further assure us that vul-

tures never carry off the slaughtered flesh, which, indeed, they piously leave for the destitute but zealous pilgrims; not even a fly, too, will settle upon food sanctified to the use of religion. Unhappily the testimony of travellers conflicts with the truth of these miracles, which exist but in the imagination.

The votary now gets shaved and the nails pared; the religious garb is then removed and the "Hajj" is ended, the weary zealot being allowed a well-earned rest at Mecca during the ensuing three days, known as "Ayyamu'l Tashriq" (the days of drying up, *i.e.*, the blood of the sacrifice). Before, however, leaving Mecca the pilgrims should once more perform the circuit round the "Ka'ba," and throw seven stones at each of the sacred pillars. The total number of stones thrown differs somewhat among the various sects. The Shafeis use forty-nine, *viz.*, seven on the tenth day, seven at each pillar (total twenty-one) on the eleventh day, and the same on the twelfth Zu'l Hijja. The Hanafis further throw twenty-one stones on the thirteenth of the month, thus raising the number to seventy. The first seven pebbles *must* be collected at Muzdalifa, but the rest may be taken from the Mina valley: in any case, however, each stone should be washed seven times prior to its being thrown, and there must be a total of *not less* than seven for each pillar. The Hanafis attempt to approach as near as possible to the devil pillar, while the Shafeis are allowed more latitude, provided they do not exceed a limit of five cubits.

Ordinary pilgrims remain at Mecca from ten to fifteen days after the completion of all the requisite ceremonial. Some, however, stay for several months, while others again dwell there for years; but residence at the Holy City is not encouraged by Muhammadan authorities, nominally on the ground that it tends to lessen the respect due to the House of God; in reality, however, the difficulty of sojourning for any lengthened period in a town so ill calculated to support a large population is probably the true cause of the objections raised against such a pious proceeding as remaining constantly in sight of the Holy of Holies. During the

pilgrimage season furnished houses are generally hired for a few weeks, but the poorer classes live in free homes termed "Ribats," built by rich and pious votaries for the benefit of such of their fellow-countrymen as cannot afford either to pay rent or to hire rooms. It not uncommonly happens, however, that the purpose of the founder is defeated, owing to the circumstance that the occupier has to pay the manager for the privilege of living rent free, and the highest bidder is pretty sure to win the day. Some "Ribats" are reserved for the gentler sex. The welfare of the various peoples who flock to them is further promoted by the presence of agents charged with the duty of protecting the interests of the respective nations to which they belong. There is also a hospital, but the accommodation is limited; and, in spite of every precaution, the condition of the poor is most miserable. When they get ill scarce a soul cares to attend to the hapless wretches, who cannot at times procure even that first necessary of life, water. Weak, sick, ill-fed, and houseless, they drag on a miserable existence in the streets, till death puts an end to the troubles which their fellow-creatures are unable or unwilling to assuage.

A certain amount of time is also consumed in collecting mementos of the "Hajj." These are, for the most part, pieces of wood off the tree called "Pilu," which are well adapted for cleaning the teeth; "Lif," a kind of grass like a silk thread; white, black, and red antimony for the eyelids; barley of the species eaten by the Prophet, commonly grown in the valleys about Mecca and Madina; and dates from the latter city. When all these arrangements are completed, many of the pilgrims betake themselves to the Mosque of the Prophet at Madina. This act of piety called "Ziarat" (visitation) is a practice of faith, and the most effectual way of drawing near to Allah through His messenger Muhammad. Though highly meritorious, it is none the less a voluntary undertaking, the choice being left to the individual's free will.

Pilgrims of the better class generally come by land.

These pass the interval before the "Hajj" pleasantly enough, living together in a state of freedom and equality. They keep but few, if any, servants, and divide amongst themselves the various duties of daily life. They are to be seen in scores reading the Quran, smoking in the streets or coffee-houses, praying or conversing in the mosque in full pride of being near the holy shrine, and in pleasurable anticipation of adding to their names in due course the auspicious title of "Haji."

Few of them, except mendicants, arrive without bringing some production of their respective countries for disposal, the profits on the sale of which diminish, to some extent, the heavy expenses of the journey to Mecca. The Magh-rabis, for instance, bring their red bonnets and woollen cloaks; the European Turks shoes and slippers, hardware, and embroidered stuffs, sweetmeats, amber trinkets of European manufacture, knit silk purses, &c.; their kinsmen from Anatolia sell carpets, silks, and Angora shawls; the Persians deal in Kashmir shawls, and large silk handkerchiefs; the Afghans barter tooth-brushes made of the spongy boughs of a tree growing in Bokhara, beads of a yellow soap-stone, and plain, coarse shawls manufactured in their own country; the Indians display the numerous productions of their rich and extensive region; the people of Yaman provide snakes for the Persian pipes, sandals, and numerous other works in leather; while the Africans trade in various articles adapted to the wants of their nation. The wares, however, are generally sold by auction, owing to the impecuniosity of the owners, who are, as a rule, compelled to accept prices much below the intrinsic value of the article itself.

A very considerable number of the pilgrims who annually visit Mecca travel by sea to Jedda, whence they betake themselves in companies to the City of Cities. The condition of these poor wretches is beyond the pale of description. Sometimes as many as 600 or 700 miserable creatures are huddled together on board a single ship,

without proper accommodation, and with few or none of the decent arrangements of life, so that the condition of the vessel, after a few days have elapsed, is filthy and disgusting beyond description. That women as well as men should elect to witness such scenes as they are compelled to experience on this journey by sea to Jedda, is an additional proof of the strong hold which the religion of Islam has taken upon the millions who glory in undergoing discomforts and dangers the bare mention of which occasions a shudder of horror on the part of any one accustomed to the proprieties and comforts of modern civilization. Nor is the return home less distressing, for, added to the discomforts attendant on the voyage, the votaries are frequently compelled to endure great suffering while waiting at the port for a vessel to take them away. Many during this period, which is often protracted, sell everything they possess in the world, and when this is not sufficient to procure food, they are turned into the streets to starve and perish!

The Indian Government has more than once taken the question of pilgrimage into consideration, with the view of securing the comfort and protecting the interests of Her Majesty's Indian subjects during their journey to and from Mecca. It was originally contemplated that a fee should be charged for the issue of a passport, without which the Turkish Government of 1880 intimated that pilgrims arriving at Jedda would be liable to be expelled from the Hedjaz; and that a deposit should be required to ensure a sufficient supply of money for the return journey; but these ideas were abandoned, and it was determined to appoint a Muslim official at Bombay as "Protector of Pilgrims." Quite recently it has been thought expedient to allow Mr. Cook, the great *entrepreneur*, to conduct the votaries to their destination. But how this is to be done, and what measures will be necessary to protect the guide from outbreaks of fanaticism on the road, must be shown by future experience.

It is difficult to state accurately the precise number of pilgrims who annually repair to Mecca, but perhaps 40,000 to 60,000 may be taken as a fair average. Of these about one half journey by sea in the following proportions :—

Indians	...	...	...	...	...	2,500
Turks, Egyptians, and Syrians	...	...	...	...	...	8,000
Malays	...	...	...	...	...	7,000
Persians	...	...	...	...	...	3,400
Maghrabis	...	...	...	...	...	1,700
Soudanis and Yamanis	...	...	...	...	...	1,300
						29,900

It will be seen that the Indian and Turkish "Hajis" are the most numerous; while the Malays come next in importance. The last are mostly Dutch subjects from Java, who are encouraged by their rulers to visit the holy places in Arabia, on the ground that "the experience gained on the journey as to the tyranny and extortion of the Musulman Government in the Hedjaz tends to increase in a 'Haji' the sense of the advantage he enjoys at home, and dissipates many of the illusions with regard to the temporal power of Muhammadanism."

Mr. Blunt, taking the year 1880 as his basis, estimates the number of pilgrims as follows :—

	Sea.	Land.
Ottoman subjects, including pilgrims from Syria and Iran, but not from Egypt or Arabia Proper	8,500	1,000
Egyptians	5,000	1,000
Maghrabis	6,000	...
Arabs from Yaman	3,000	...
" Oman and Hadramaut	3,000	...
" Najd	...	5,000
" Hedjar	...	22,000
Negroes from Soudan	2,000	...
" Zanzibar	1,000	...
Malabaris from Cape of Good Hope	150	...
Persians...	6,000	2,500
British Indians...	15,000	...
Malays...	12,000	...
Chinese...	100	...
Total	61,750	31,500
	93,250	

A more recent return which has just reached me gives the figures for 1885 in the former column at 17,303, carried on 26 vessels; of these pilgrims Java supplied 6,799; India, 6,577; Persia, 713; Arabia, 1627; Bokhara, 1161; Turkey, 397; Afghanistan, 18; and China, 11. It is probable that Mr. Blunt's totals much exceed the truth.

Such is the pilgrimage to Mecca, with its quaint ceremonies, its fatiguing devotions, and its trying hardships. It forms a remarkable chapter in the history of the world, for it teaches the lesson that, whether the doctrine of Muhammad be the religion of a false messenger from on high, as some contend, or the divinely inspired faith delivered by the Almighty to His true apostle the Prophet of Arabia, as is the belief of the Muslim world, it is, at any rate, a creed which has taken a deep root in the minds of its devotees. When, indeed, we find that the wealthiest and the noblest abandon all the luxuries of life to undergo the toil, the troubles, the dangers of a journey to the Holy Cities of Arabia, is it not a striking testimony to the power of the teachings of the Quran, telling forth throughout the length and breadth of the inhabitable world the faith which many millions feel in its doctrines? May not such earnestness, such zeal, and, it must be added, such piety, shame the weak-hearted devotion of modern Christendom? Humiliating, indeed, as is the confession, it must be avowed that the simple trust and confidence of the Muslims in their God proclaims in unmistakable language that the devotee of the West, as regards fervour of expression if not honesty of purpose, must give place to the worshipper in the East. Does not the prayer of each votary in the Mosque of Mecca, when imploring the aid and seeking to avert the wrath of the Creator in whom the pilgrim is taught to believe, seem to bid the indifferent people of Christian Europe follow the example of zeal which the Muhammadan worshippers afford?

A. N. WOLLASTON.

THE ENGLISH CONNECTION WITH SUMATRA.*

THE Island of Sumatra is of interest as one of the first places with which the East India Company entered into commercial relations. It must have been known and celebrated for its spices and gold at an extremely remote age, and it is not improbable that some of its products found their way into Egypt as early as the days of Jacob, through the Ismaelitish merchantmen who carried thither spicery and balm. Notwithstanding the situation of this island in the direct track from India to the Spice Islands and China, it seems to have been unknown to the Greek and Roman geographers, although soon after the beginning of the Portuguese voyages it was generally assumed to be the Taprobane of the ancients.

Diodorus Siculus gives an account of the travels of Jambulus, who visited and remained seven years in a strange island, supposed by some to have been Sumatra, on leaving which he went to India. The date of the journey of Jambulus is uncertain. Saint Ambrose mentions the travels of Thebrius, who passed over from India to the Isle Taprobane. One of the Arabian travellers of the ninth century, the account of whose voyages was translated by Renaudot, speaks of a large island called Ramni, which may be safely identified with Sumatra. Edrisi, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, describes the same island

* This article is chiefly based on those records in the India Office which are known as the Loose Papers, and which Mr. Danvers, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Records, has been for some time engaged in classifying.

by the name of Al-Rami. Marco Polo speaks of it as Java Minor. Friar Odoni, about 1322, visited the island, and called one part of it Sumottra. Nicolo de Conti, of Venice, who returned from his Oriental travels about 1444, seems to have been the first to give an account of this island under the name of Sumatra, which, he also says, was called by the ancients Taprobana. In a history by Antonio Pigafetta, the companion of Ferdinando de Magaglianes, of that navigator's famous voyage round the world in the years 1519-22, the island of Sumatra is also referred to; but, previously to this, the expeditions of the Portuguese had rendered it well known; and, in a letter from Emanuel, King of Portugal, to Pope Leo X., dated in 1513, he speaks of the discovery of Sumatra by his subjects.

The first regular expedition sent to Sumatra by the Portuguese consisted of a fleet of four ships, under the command of Diogo Lopez Sequeira, which sailed from Lisbon on April 8, 1508. A second fleet was sent out in the year 1510, under Diogo Mendez, to establish the Portuguese interests at Malacca; but Alfonso d'Albuquerque, the governor of their affairs in India, detained the squadron on the coast of Malabar until he could accompany it. On May 2, 1511, he set sail from Cochin with nineteen ships and 1400 men. He conquered Malacca, and established a settlement there in the name of his royal master.

In 1521 the Governor of Achin revolted against the king who reigned over the northern part of the island, and established an independent kingdom. From this time Achin began to increase in trade and importance, and between it and the Portuguese settlement at Malacca a keen rivalry ensued. Attacks were made on the Portuguese by the kings of Achin almost every year down to 1641, when the Dutch sent a powerful force, and not only drove the Portuguese out of Malacca, but destroyed their influence in the Archipelago. The Dutch first arrived at Achin in 1600, but were not well received, owing to the ill

offices of the Portuguese, or perhaps rather to the jealousy of the natives and their prejudice against foreigners.

Sumatra was one of the places with which the East India Company traded in the early years of its existence. In 1599 the adventurers, in their memorial to the Queen and Privy Council, included "the rich and goulden island of Sumatra" as one of the countries with which they might trade, because they "are not subjecte to the Kinge of Spayne and Portugal." The Right Honourable Foulke Grevil, in his report to the Secretary of State, wrote on this point—

"The land of Sumatra, or Taprobana, is possessed by many Kynges, enemies to the Portugals; the chief is the Kinge of Dachen, who besieged them in Malacca, and with his gallies stopped the passage of victuals and trafficke from China, Japan, and Molucco, till, by a mayne fleet, the coast was cleared. The Kinge of Spaigne, in regard of the importance of this passage, hath often resolved to conquere Sumatra; but yet nothinge is done. The Kinges of Acheyn and Tor are in lyke sorte enemies to the Portugals."

The first English fleet that made its appearance in this part of the world arrived at Achin in June, 1602, under the command of Sir James Lancaster, who was received by the king with much ceremony and respect. A letter from the Queen of England was conveyed to the Court with great pomp, and Sir James Lancaster, after delivering a rich present on behalf of the East India Company, declared that the purpose of his coming was to establish peace and amity between the Queen of England and the King of Achin. Among the presents sent in return to the queen, was a valuable ruby ring. Two nobles were appointed to settle with Sir James the terms of a commercial treaty, which was drawn up and duly executed. Under this treaty the privileges of trade, import and export, were granted to the English merchants free of all duties. Permission was also given to establish a factory, and the factor and his servants, in their own private concerns, were only to conform to the laws of England. There exist no records of the extent to which the East India Company

traded with Sumatra at this time, but it appears that as early as 1605 certain vessels sailing from Achin touched at Tekoo and Priaman. In 1608 proposals were made for a factory at Priaman, with the view of extending the pepper trade; and in the Company's eighth voyage, undertaken in 1611, their fleet went to Priaman to fill up with pepper.

On the death of the King of Achin, with whom Sir J. Lancaster had made his treaty, Iskander Muda, his successor, showed much friendship to the Hollanders in the early part of his reign; but on the arrival of Captain Best, in 1614, with a letter and presents from King James I., the king signed a new treaty, by which the English were, for the first time, permitted to build a factory of durable materials at Tekoo, on payment of 7 per cent. on the imports and exports. Notwithstanding the privileges and concessions thus obtained, it was not until the year 1615 that factories were established at Achin, Tekoo, and Priaman. In the same year also the ship *Attendant* was sent to Jambi, on the east side of Sumatra, "hitherto not discovered by any Christians." In a review of the Company's trade at their several factories, the Council, writing from Bantam on January 19, 1618, remarked that Sumatra and the two factories at Achin and Tekoo did vend great store of Cambaya and Masuliputani commodities to good profit, and did yield, besides pepper, the best gold, camphor, sulphur, wax, and benjamin. The mischief is, they remarked, the king is a tyrant, inconstant and covetous, and his officers corrupt. The license for trade at Tekoo had been withdrawn by the king with the view of bringing the trade of all strangers to Achin, in consequence of which the vessel *Gift* from Achin to Bantam stopped on her way at Tekoo. She brought away the English merchants, and the factory was dissolved.

In 1618 Richard Westby, a Cape merchant at Jambi, was invited by the Dutch to supper, and murdered by them at their own house. Owing to the opposition of the Dutch,

the English trade appeared not to flourish here, for in the following year two vessels were despatched "to new establish both with men and means the almost decayed factories of Jambi, Patani, Siam, Succadana," &c. The Dutch now exerted every means in their power to ruin the trade of the English. At Achin they offered double prices for pepper, in order to engross the whole trade in that article. In October, 1619, the Company's ships, under the command of Captain Bonner, which had taken in pepper at Tekoo, were attacked near that port by a Dutch fleet of six sail; and, after a severe action, in which Captain Bonner was killed, his ship, the *Dragon*, was sunk, and the other three vessels were compelled to surrender. The Dutch also made attempts to overthrow the Company's trade at Jambi, whilst at Priaman trade had to be carried on by Englishmen in stealth, and it was even dangerous to go ashore. In 1621 the Council at Jambi deprecated sending goods to Indraghiri—where there was a factory—whilst means were wanting there to buy pepper. They also deferred sending to Palambang, on the ground that "we have too many unprofitable factories already, and therefore desire no more, but rather to have them dissolved." In the following year the factory at Indraghiri was burnt, whereupon the chief of the factory was withdrawn. At this juncture the King of Achin offered the Company's factors trade at Tekoo again if they would pay well for it, and in 1622 ships were sent there.

In 1625 the Dutch again strove to obtain an exclusive trade in Sumatra, and they took an active part in the wars between the Kings of Achin and Jambi, against which the English factors could only protest. In the following year the Court of Directors had under serious consideration whether they should not dissolve the Presidency and Council at Bantam, and settle four or five able men at Jambi, the chief place for pepper, while Achin, Tekoo, and Priaman might be visited by ships from Surat without keeping any settled factories at those places. Owing to

the continued opposition of the Dutch, the Company's officers were with difficulty able to retain their factory at Jambi, and similar difficulties were also experienced with regard to the Company's factories at Macassar in the Celebes, and Japarra in Java.

In 1649-50, on an invitation from the Governor of Padang, the President at Bantam sent one of the Company's ships to that port, and to Indrapura, on a voyage of experiment; and this circumstance marks the first trade and settlement of the English at those stations. The experiment succeeded beyond expectation so far as obtaining a cargo of pepper was concerned; but on the vessel leaving Indrapura, she was seized by two large Dutch ships which had been despatched for the purpose by the Dutch General at Batavia. For the next few years no incident of importance occurred. The only English settlement on the island appears to have been at Jambi, and the trade passed chiefly into the hands of the Dutch.

In 1667-68 orders were given for re-establishing the factories subordinate to Surat, of which Achin was one, and the *Zant* frigate was sent out with instructions to re-open the trade with Sumatra, particularly at Priaman and Tekoo. The frigate called at Manjuta and Sillebar, but was unable to converse with the natives for want of interpreters. Under date, October 26, 1668, the Court of Directors sent out instructions for carrying into effect the project of establishing a factory at Achin, with a view to increasing their pepper investments. The Presidency of Surat thereupon deputed Mr. Matthew Gray, one of their number, to negotiate a treaty with the queen, on the principle that, if a preference should be given to the English trade at Achin, Tekoo, and Priaman, the Company would afford assistance in protecting Achin against the depredations of the Orankayes, or superiors of districts. He was, however, requested to withdraw, as the Dutch were almost sole masters of all the ports and trade of the island.

In 1680-81 the factory at Jambi was ordered to be

dissolved; and in 1684 an armament, designed for the recovery by force of the factory at Bantam, was ordered to proceed instead to Achin, and Messrs. Ord and Cawley were sent with it by the Madras Government, as an embassy to the queen, with instructions to obtain, if possible, one of the Portuguese forts at the mouth of the Achin river, with the view of establishing an agent there. Once the fort had been sufficiently strengthened, it was hoped that a town like Madras would arise under its protection. The proposal was peremptorily rejected by the queen; and Messrs. Ord and Cawley accepted an invitation from the chiefs of Bencoolen to build a fortified warehouse on ground allotted to them at that place. This situation not proving advantageous, they removed the site two or three miles, and erected a new factory which was called Fort Marlborough. In 1685-86 a factory was established at Priaman, and this, together with the factory at Achin, was made subordinate to the Presidency of Fort St. George.

In 1687-88 the Court of Directors ordered that York Fort (Fort Marlborough) should be strengthened; with a view to its becoming the principal port for the exportation of pepper. The trade here soon began to increase, but at Indrapura it was still much obstructed by the Dutch. In 1692-93 affairs at Bencoolen appear to have fallen into a state of confusion, owing to dissensions between the agent and his council. The settlement had been involved in a war with the natives, which had exhausted the stock at the disposal of the agency; and as a consequence the Dutch engrossed the pepper trade. In 1694 the Court of Directors ordered that a free trade should be permitted at Bencoolen, on payment of the Company's established dues. On August 15, 1695, articles of agreement were signed by the Raja of Sillesbar for a continuance of the English settlement at that place, and the Company were granted an area of two miles of ground, "or the randum of a shott from a piece of ordnance next about and round said towne for their proper use and possession."

About this time there arose a sort of revolution in the country, the people being dissatisfied with the government of the emperor, who seems to have turned round and favoured the Dutch rather than the English, whilst some of the principal men of the country threw in their lot with the latter. An agreement was accordingly drawn up between Sultan Guillamott and Raja Addill, for the joint government of the country from Mandura to Cattowne, and they transferred the government of the whole country to the King of England and the East India Company, in consideration of the protection and security they would receive from their power. This agreement was dated Tryamong Factory, September 16, 1695. After this the country appears to have settled down, for a time at least, into a peaceable condition.

By a letter of February 20, 1696, the Court ordered that the station of York Fort and its dependencies should be placed entirely under the control of Fort St. George. Encouragement was to be given to the Chinese, by every possible means, to trade at this settlement; and, in the following year, the plan of permitting free planters to settle in the colony under certain regulations was adopted. Amongst the expedients for raising a revenue, a duty of one penny per pound was to be levied on pepper bought under the Company's licenses by private merchants, and stringent measures were to be taken for preventing European interlopers from obtaining cargoes of pepper.

In 1699 the Court of Directors ordered the agency at Bencoolen, and the other settlements on the coast of Sumatra, to re-occupy all the stations which had been relinquished, and to exclude the servants and trade of the new English East India Company. Though the settlement of York Fort had not afforded pepper, or rather produce, sufficient to defray one half of the charges, the Court determined to maintain it; and for this purpose suggested to the agent a scheme of granting a small allowance to the principal chiefs in the districts furnishing pepper, and the

honorary rank of Members of Council, which it was expected would induce them to make exertions to collect a more regular and ample supply. When the London and English East India Companies united, the settlements on the Island of Sumatra were York-Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapura, Tryamong, and Sillebar. The factory at Bencoolen was then made independent of Fort St. George.

In 1705 a vast increase was reported in the pepper plantations, and it was considered that the west coast would become a flourishing settlement. The Presidency was, however, in great want of supplies. The Council at Fort St. George complained about this time of the strange management of affairs at York Fort. This may possibly have been due to the fact that, being without remittances from home, the President had been obliged to draw heavily upon Fort St. George. A great difficulty was also experienced in keeping the natives at peace amongst themselves, and on this the prosperity of the settlement obviously depended. It appears that in consequence of the great expenditure incurred in Sumatra, chiefly on fortifications, the Court ordered that economies should be introduced. To these orders the Council at York Fort yielded under protest, but they declined to reduce the number of their soldiers, not being willing, as they said, to have their throats cut. They expressed an opinion that Bantall would always be an expense, and that, if it were desired to retain any second factory on the island, Manjuta would be the best situated for the purpose. Sablatti, Cattowne, Sillebar, and Seloonah had already been withdrawn; but this caused so many complaints on the part of the natives that a re-settlement was made at Sillebar in 1707.

In the following year (1708) the chiefs in the north of the island assembled together with the view of driving the English out of Bantall. Late in the year the factory had been involved in a war between Raja Macoota and Sultan Guillamott, in which the Council supported the former. In

1710 the Council at York Fort reported that the Dutch had, of late, industriously promoted cotton cultivation in Sumatra, and had brought weavers to settle at Padang, where they established a sort of manufactory. They also resettled Jarajah, near Bantall. On September 5, 1710, an agreement was entered into between the President and Council at Bantall, on behalf of the East India Company, and the Sultan Guillamott, and all the Mandarins and Proatins of Manjuta, Sillagun, Tredickett, Bantall, Tryamong, Ippue, &c., for the government of the country and the regulation of the pepper trade.

In February, 1711, the country was reported to be generally more settled, but there existed grave suspicions against Raja Macoota, who was believed to be intriguing with the Dutch. In the following month both York Fort and Bantall became involved in troubles with the natives. By February, 1712, York Fort had become more quiet, but the affairs at Bantall grew more desperate every day, in consequence of the action of the Dutch among the natives, whose only object was to turn the English out of the island. The indiscreet action of the Company's servants towards the natives had also made them ill-disposed towards the English. In October, 1712, the country was again reported quiet. In February following, the affairs at Bantall were stated to be in a flourishing condition. Moco Moco had by this time been added to the Company's possessions.

In a letter of May 15, 1714, the Council at York Fort gave a description of an expedition to Bantall, in the preceding December, in order to establish the power of Sultan Guillamott against a rebellion headed by his son. In a treaty made with the former, the agreement of 1695 was confirmed, and a promise given on behalf of the Sultan and his Rajas, that each family in their respective towns within their territories should yearly plant 3,000 pepper trees; that the Company's servants should be provided with food and necessaries at reasonable prices; that the Company should be allowed to make settlements at Moco.

Moco and Manjuta; and that the Company should take the guardianship of the country upon themselves. This covenant also contained stipulations as to the price to be paid for pepper, and the rate at which certain Indian cloth should be received in payment for the same. The Company's forces soon defeated the rebels and established peace, and one effect of this agreement was that the Pangaran of Manna, whose country used to produce much pepper for the Dutch, proceeded to York Fort to offer his services and his supply of pepper to the English.

In a letter dated May 15, 1714, it is stated that the only settlements then on the coast were at Bencoolen, Sillebar, Bantall, Ippue, and Moco Moco. At Tryamong, Seloonah, and probably at other places, some Buggeese* were retained to give notice when pepper was obtainable there. In June, 1716, Governor Collett was removed from York Fort to Fort St. George, and was succeeded by Mr. Shylling, then second in Council, as provisional Deputy-Governor. He immediately commenced a system of corrupt practices, especially in connection with building operations at the fort, and a persecution of those officials who endeavoured to act honestly and do their duty. On the arrival of Mr. Farmer as Governor, on October 20, 1716, Mr. Shylling's defalcations were discovered; he was accordingly suspended, and his effects seized to make good his deficiencies. One of the last acts of Mr. Shylling before his deposition seems to have been the setting aside of Sultan Guillamott in favour of another claimant; in consequence of this the country was thrown into a disturbed state, and the Company's possessions were only with great difficulty preserved. Not long after—that is, about the end of 1718, or the beginning of 1719—Mr. Thomas Cook was sent from Madras as Supervisor; he seized Governor

* Now called the Bugis inhabitants of the northern part of Celebes, and known also as Macassar men. They are the best native troops in the service of the Dutch and the great carriers of the Archipelago.—Ed. A. Q. R.

Farmer, and Mr. James Morris, a factor at Bencoolen, and sent them off prisoners to Madras. Almost immediately after this, a rising of the natives took place, and the Company's servants were expelled from Bencoolen. They were permitted shortly afterwards to return.

In 1723 the principal head men of Bencoolen forwarded an address to the Directors of the East India Company; wherein they expressed regret at the decline of the pepper trade, and engaged to plant 1,000 pepper trees for every house in their kingdom, under a penalty of 15 dollars each in case of non-fulfilment of this obligation. In 1724 the Company's forces conquered the Pangaran Jantinelly's country. For some years, and under successive deputy-governors, there seems to have been peace, and a general increase in the prosperity of the island and of the Company's affairs. Pepper arrived in plenty, and the Company's officers encouraged the cultivation of coffee. In 1741 a new settlement was established on the island of Pooloo Penang. In 1742 Sumatra was visited by a severe famine, and in 1748 an epidemic of smallpox prevailed; both of which events seriously affected the Company's trade and the supply of pepper available for export.

In 1751 the Dutch appear to have advanced pretensions to the exclusive right to trade in certain parts on the northern coast of Sumatra, where they had neither settlements nor any contracts with the natives. In June of that year the Sultan of Manang Cabow despatched an embassy to Moco Moco to request the English to settle at Priaman, and in September following, in response to an invitation from the natives, Mr. Saul was sent from Fort Marlborough to Natal, and took possession of that place in the name of the East India Company. The Dutch, however, attempted to drive him away, and it became necessary to send a force to support his pretensions. The Dutch Governor of Batavia sent a formal protest to Fort Marlborough against the occupation of Natal by the English Company, claiming it as part of the territory belonging to the Netherlands

Company. Probably acting in concert with the Dutch, the Achinese prepared to drive the English out of the northern part of the island. Additional troops were then sent for the protection of the Company's interests in those parts. In the early months of 1753, one of the Company's ships, on its way from Natal to Fort Marlborough, was stopped by a Dutch cruiser, and carried into Padang, where she was searched before being permitted to proceed. This outrage called forth a protest addressed to the Governor and Council at Batavia, accompanied by an intimation that whilst the East India Company would not interfere at places in the actual possession of the Netherlands Government, they would not surrender their just rights to settle at independent places where no marks of such property existed.

In the last-named year, Messrs. John Walsh and John Pybus were appointed Supervisors to overhaul all the Company's affairs on the coast of Sumatra. On arrival at Fort Marlborough they found a general state of confusion in all branches of business; and, with a view to increasing the local revenues, they established a duty of 5 per cent on all imports at Fort Marlborough and its dependencies, except on piece goods and opium manifested at Fort St. George, and on European commodities sent out by the Company. Writing in April, 1754, the Supervisors gave an account of the state of the Company's several residencies at Moco Moco (including Bantall and Ippue), Cattowne, Laye, Marlborough, Sillebar, Tallo, Manna, Cawoar, Croce, and Natal. The last-named settlement they considered a failure, as no pepper was grown in its neighbourhood. By January, 1755, however, this settlement had absorbed most of the trade on that coast, in consequence of which the Dutch found it necessary to withdraw, in whole or in part, from their neighbouring settlements at Priamong and Baroos.

About this time a system of annual surveys of the pepper plantations was introduced at each settlement, which led to a considerable increase in the production of pepper;

and in order further to increase the plantations, inducements were held out to the hill tribes to come down to the plains to plant pepper. The Dutch now appear to have again interested the Achinese in their behalf, and in April, 1755, a combined attempt was made to drive the English out of Natal; but it was frustrated, and the enemy defeated. After this, as it seemed that the Dutch wished to make themselves masters of the bay at Tappanooly—a place about forty leagues from Natal—it was thought desirable to forestall them, and a deputation was sent to treat with the chiefs of that place; but they declined to enter into any agreement, or to allow the English flag to be hoisted. It turned out, however, that the Dutch had already tried the same thing themselves, but equally without success. After this the Dutch sent small vessels, and placed blocks of wood with their company's arms fixed on them on all the islands about the coast, and, among the rest, on Pooloo Samong, an island within sight of Natal, and under the government of that place.

In December, 1755, some Dutch ships lay off Natal, and men were sent ashore to stir up the people against the English. Reinforcements of men and stores were thereupon sent from Fort Marlborough, and orders were given to establish a settlement at Tappanooly. The Dutch at once warned off the English; but their threats were disregarded, as the former had no prior claims there. We did not remain in possession very long, for in April, 1757, the Council at Fort St. George gave orders withdrawing both the settlements at Natal and Tappanooly, but stating that the Company's title to the territory was to be reserved by distinctive marks.

Towards the end of 1757 the country round Fort Marlborough was in a very unsettled state, and apprehensions were expressed for the safety of the place. Strong measures were adopted, and the rebellion was put down early in 1758. The cause of these troubles was attributed by the Council to the weakened state of the Company's

stations as regarded both military and stores. In 1759, in consequence of the persistent opposition of the Dutch to the Company's undertakings, the Council at Fort Marlborough determined to appoint an agent at Batavia, to give them notice of any extraordinary event, and to communicate it, if necessary, to the commander of His Majesty's squadron, and to the Company's other settlements. Mr. John Herbert was the first agent so appointed.

In September, 1759, the Residency of Fort Marlborough was thrown into a state of consternation by a report that the French intended to make an attack on the Company's settlements in Sumatra, and steps were hurriedly taken to strengthen all the available defences. In December following, the Resident at Manna informed the Council at Fort Marlborough that the inhabitants of Padang Gooche were shortly to assemble at Manna in order to enter into contracts with the Company for the supply of pepper. About this time also the first attempts were made to introduce the cultivation of indigo at Fort Marlborough, by means of seed imported from Bengal; but there is every reason to suppose that this experiment was unsuccessful.

The Achinese, at the supposed instigation of the Dutch, again attacked Tappanooly, and the English were obliged to retire and fall back upon their factory pending the arrival of reinforcements. After this our troubles began to accumulate, and in February, 1760, two large French ships of war appeared off Natal. On receipt of this news, the Council at Fort Marlborough immediately sent off the greater part of their specie to Batavia for safety, and the fortifications were put in order and strengthened. On March 5th, news arrived that Natal had been taken by the enemy, and that one of their ships had proceeded to attack Tappanooly, which place was also soon taken, as well as other settlements belonging to the Company in Sumatra. The Malay chiefs at Natal retired with their people to the neighbouring woods, and sent to Fort Marlborough for aid. On March 28th, a large English vessel, the *Denham*,

arrived at Fort Marlborough from Bengal; she was speedily unloaded, and about noon on the 30th the enemy's fleet hove in sight. A portion of the crew of the *Denham* were landed to aid in the defence of the place, and the captain of that vessel was ordered to scuttle or burn her, if necessary, to prevent her from falling into the enemy's hands. She was accordingly run ashore and burned. About one o'clock on April 1st, the French vessels began to attack the fort. The Malays being found useless through fear, it was decided to retire; and accordingly, at 8 o'clock in the evening, a retreat was made to a village inland, and the Company's cash, papers, &c., were also carried there. The Malays, instead of following, began to plunder the fort immediately the English had left. Soon after we evacuated the place the French occupied it with a force of 500 men.

Finding it impossible to remain at the village, owing to want of provisions, or to move further away, an officer was sent to the French with a flag of truce, and, after a brief negotiation, the garrison submitted as prisoners of war to Count d'Estaing, the commander of the French troops. On June 5th, a consultation was held by permission of Count d'Estaing, at which it was decided to offer the sum of 200,000 dollars for the ransom of all the Company's settlements in Sumatra, and hostages were appointed to be exchanged by the French for prisoners taken from them in India. These, as well as the Ransom Bill, subsequently fell into the hands of Commodore Mitchell. Before leaving, the French blew up Fort Marlborough. The British settlements were shortly afterwards re-established, being secured to this country by the Treaty of Paris of 1763.

The constant distress from want of rice led to attempts being made to grow paddy in the neighbourhood of Fort Marlborough. This Residency, which had hitherto been subordinate to Fort St. George, was now formed into an independent Presidency. In 1762, 1764, and again in 1772, embassies were sent to Achin with a view to the establishment of a settlement there; but, as on former

occasions, the attempt was unsuccessful. In 1769 the East India Company entered into an agreement with Jeremiah Baker to plant a colony of German Protestants in Sumatra, for the improvement and cultivation of the land. These appear to have arrived in September, 1770, to the number of thirty-eight including men, women, and children. Mr. Baker received advances from the Company to assist in establishing them in the country; but he seems to have managed affairs very badly. The emigrants soon became dissatisfied, and the experiment turned out a failure.

In 1772, letters were received at Fort Marlborough from the Sultan of Manangeabow, Raja Sanunzang, and Raja Ender Bangsaroon, complaining of the injustice of the Dutch towards them, and offering to allow the English to settle at Acclacoon and Priaman if they would help to drive out the Dutch. This offer was, however, declined, on the ground that the English and Dutch Companies were on friendly terms. Messengers were also sent from Passaemnam to the Resident at Natal, stating that the natives had expelled the Dutch, and requesting assistance from the English.

On May 12, 1773, Major Mussenden Johnston, the officer commanding the Company's troops at Fort Marlborough, addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, dated from "Marlbro' Village, for Fort there is not the least vestige of," bringing to notice the entirely defenceless condition of that settlement, and complaining of the want of courtesy on the part of the civil servants in Sumatra towards the military officers. He also remarked that the island was capable of being made a most valuable pepper garden, and might soon be put in a condition to supply not only itself, but the other Indian settlements, with arrack and sugar.

Under date April 15, 1775, the Council at Fort Marlborough advised the Court of a remarkable decline in the Netherlands Company's affairs on that coast. They had relinquished their ancient settlement of Baroos, also those

of Ayer Bungey and Passummah, and they appeared to be about to leave Padang, as they had withdrawn several of their servants and reduced the pay of those that remained. In 1788, the Court of Directors appointed a select committee to examine into and to remedy the mismanagement that had hitherto prevailed in the administration of their affairs in the settlements of Sumatra. This committee stated that they had raised the price of pepper from two dollars to three dollars per cwt., had instituted a mode of determining suits amongst the natives, and had effected a general reduction of expenses and modification of government at the out-stations.

On the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland in 1781, the Court gave positive instructions to Fort Marlborough to seize every Dutch settlement or vessel that might fall within their power. On August 6th, a commission was accordingly issued to Messrs. H. Botham and J. Clements to proceed with a force and take possession of all the Dutch settlements in Sumatra. Poolo Cinquo fell on August 16th, and Padang on the 18th, whereupon orders were given for the demolition of the fortifications at the latter place. Early in 1782 an explosion occurred at Fort Marlborough which destroyed the magazine.

In 1783 the Council complained that their letters to the Court had remained unanswered; their requests for supplies unheeded; and that it was only through the energy and perseverance of their servants that the Company's interests in Sumatra had been preserved at all. The late war rendered attention to their requests absolutely necessary, and they recommended the Court on no account to give up possession of the Dutch settlements they had acquired during the war; but, if necessary, to secure the cession of them by purchase if not otherwise procurable. Under the treaty of peace, however, the conquered districts on the coast of Sumatra were restored to Holland, and the English establishment at Padang was consequently withdrawn. Fort Marlborough was, soon after this, deprived of its inde-

pendence, and in 1785 became subordinate to the Government of Bengal, and the expenses of the establishment were ordered to be reduced. In the same year ambassadors arrived from the King of Tedora conveying in safety some European refugees who had escaped from a massacre on the coast of New Guinea. These requested that an English establishment might be formed at the Moluccas, and they were sent on by the Council to Bengal to make their representations to the supreme Government.

On March 20, 1786, the Company's settlement at Tapanooly was cut off and plundered by some Achin pirates, but it was shortly afterwards retaken by a force sent from Natal. The Company's buildings had, however, been all burnt, and their ordnance and stores carried off, only to be restored later on. In this year also the Council at Fort Marlborough sent to Amboyna and Bandar for nutmeg, clove, and other spice plants, with the view of introducing their cultivation into Sumatra. This first attempt failed, but a subsequent one proved successful and led to an extensive cultivation of spices, principally in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen.

In 1800 the Governor-General in Council suspended the Acting-Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough, and appointed Mr. Walter Ewer a commissioner with all the powers hitherto exercised by them. He appears to have held this appointment until 1805-6, when Mr. Thomas Parr was appointed Resident, but without a council. On December 1, 1803, a large French fleet appeared before Poole, and after burning some vessels retired, but the place was immediately pillaged by the natives. Altogether the damage done at Poole was estimated at not less than £60,000. Efforts had been made to introduce the cultivation of the coffee-plant into Sumatra, and in 1806 the Resident at Fort Marlborough reported that it had become thoroughly acclimatized. He also recommended the cultivation by convicts of spice plantations on the Company's account, and to handicap private growers by putting an

export duty of 10 per cent. on all coffee and spices not grown on the Company's plantations. These measures were shortly afterwards followed by an insurrection of Malays, and their first action was to proceed at night to the house of Mr. Parr whom they murdered in his bed. This act was attributed by some of the chiefs to the discontent of the country people in consequence of the orders to plant coffee. The immediate measures taken by Mr. Martin for the protection of the fort probably saved the Residency and the Company's property there from total loss. One of the murderers, Raja Sellah, was caught and his head sent in. The other chiefs implicated escaped into the country, and stirred up discontent amongst the people.

In the same year a number of American vessels visited the northern ports of Sumatra, and carried away the entire pepper crop; one result of this new competition being to raise the price of pepper at those ports from five dollars to seven and seven and a half dollars per pecul. This competition threatened to seriously affect the Company's trade in Sumatra, and the Resident consequently recommended that the Company should endeavour to obtain the monopoly in the northern ports. The introduction of coffee and nutmegs having proved a decided success, attempts were about this time successfully made to naturalize the chocolate tree, cinnamon, cassia, and pimento. In the autumn of this year the settlement of Tappanooly was captured, and entirely destroyed by the French corvette *La Créole*.

In 1814 Captain Canning was despatched from Bengal to Achin to investigate on the spot certain charges of plunder against the Achinese; to establish with the Government of Achin regulations for the prevention of similar occurrences in the future; and to effect the exclusion of the Achinese from the country south of Sinkell. It appears that Captain Canning was treated with marked disrespect and insult, and had to retire without effecting any of his objects. On March 20, 1818, Sir T. Stamford Raffles, having

been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, arrived at Fort Marlborough. In a letter to the Court on April 10th in that year he advocated the abandonment of the Company's pepper plantations; giving up the practice of retail sale of goods at the Presidency; and the despatch of English goods direct to Sumatra, instead of *via* Bengal. In the spring of this year Fort Marlborough was visited by a succession of earthquakes, which did great damage. In August, 1818, Sir Stamford Raffles found it necessary to protest against the proceedings of the Dutch, especially at Palambang; and he requested that his protest might be brought to the notice of His Majesty's ministers. He strongly advocated that the authority of the British and Netherlands Government should be respectively defined; and, he remarked, that could the return of Baroos be negotiated, and the integrity of Sumatra be preserved under British protection, the greatest advantages might be anticipated. In 1820 Sir Stamford Raffles reported that he had succeeded in establishing the cultivation of the nutmeg and clove trees in Singapore. On May 20th in that year he issued an order under which the utmost freedom of cultivation was allowed to the people of Sumatra; the proprietary rights of the chiefs in the land were recognized, and in return they were held responsible for the management and good order of the country, as well as for the administration of justice in all ports except Fort Marlborough.

Owing to failing health, Sir Stamford Raffles resigned his appointment early in 1824; and took his passage for England by the Company's chartered ship *Fame* which sailed on February 1st. On the following day this vessel was entirely destroyed by fire; the crew and passengers were saved, but Sir Stamford Raffles lost large quantities of valuable records which he had collected, relating to Java, Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes; and Singapore, besides costly natural history collections and personal property, the latter valued at £29,180. In consequence, Sir Stamford returned to Fort Marlborough and resumed charge of the govern-

ment, which, however, he gave up to Mr. Prince, as Acting-Resident, in the following April or May.

According to the stipulations of a treaty, signed in London on March 17, 1824, between the King of Great Britain and the King of the Netherlands, all the British possessions on the Island of Sumatra were to have been formally ceded to the agents of the latter on March 1, 1825, in exchange for Malacca and its dependencies. No one, however, then arrived to take possession, the Dutch being so much engaged in hostilities in their eastern possessions that they had not sufficient troops to spare for the occupation of these new stations. The civil establishments and stores were taken from Fort Marlborough by the Company's ship *Repulse* to Prince of Wales Island and Singapore, to which settlement they were removed on July 15, 1825. Thus ended the authority of the East India Company in Sumatra, after a more or less intimate connection of two hundred years. Through the want of skilled administrators the connection never proved profitable, and may even have entailed pecuniary loss. The growing importance of Singapore made the exchange with the Dutch of the Sumatran possessions for those in Malacca seem a profitable transaction at the time, and, although the future may have great things in store for Sumatra, it must be long before there will be any substantial cause of regret at the disappearance of English enterprise from that island.

F. C. DANVERS.

BOYCOTTED SILVER.

By a coincidence which cannot be regarded as either surprising or unnatural, the public press both in America and in India has recently begun to discuss the question, whether silver-using countries ought not to consider themselves released from the obligation, contracted at a time when silver was worth 25 per cent. more than its present value, to pay the interest on their national debts in gold. A suggestion of this kind will startle holders of American and Indian sterling bonds from their dream of perfect security, but it is not so inequitable as may at first sight appear. The argument which finds favour in the United States with the advocates of this new scheme of repudiation is that silver is one of the principal products of their soil, the annual out-turn, which even now amounts to about ten millions a year, being capable of a large extension if there were an increased demand for the metal, and that the European States have, by their currency legislation of the last fifteen years, prohibited the use of silver as money, and thus practically closed against it the markets of the Old World. The injury thus inflicted on a great American industry is more serious than that caused to English, French, and German industries by the heavy import duties of the United States tariff, and it is no wonder that, in these circumstances, some American citizens have spoken of adopting a policy of retaliation, and of paying interest to foreign bondholders in a coin the ratio of which to gold has been arbitrarily lowered by the action of foreign governments. The case of India is similar, but as against the English Government much stronger, for England is

responsible for having discontinued the gold coinage of India, and forced that country to be content with a currency of silver. The Indian revenues are, consequently, collected entirely in silver, and, when the greater portion of the Indian Debt, principally held by Englishmen, was contracted, the rupee, which is the current coin of India, was exchangeable against gold at the rate of $15\frac{1}{2} : 1$, whereas now the price is $20\frac{1}{2} : 1$. I shall try to show, in a later portion of this paper, that India receives valuable indirect compensation for the loss thus incurred; but the immediate and obvious result of the depreciation of silver, so far as her finances are concerned, is that, as the remittances for the annual payment of charges in England, amounting to from fifteen to twenty millions sterling, have to be made in gold, the Indian Government is obliged, in the words of Sir Auckland Colvin, "to maintain somewhere about five crores of rupees a year in its revenue estimates, which, since the relative value of gold and silver began to change, have to be locked up and kept from circulation, in order to enable the Government to meet the extra burden imposed upon it in connection with the Home charges." Now, Lord Dufferin has found it necessary this year to impose an Income Tax on the people of India for the purpose of obtaining the means of fortifying the frontier against a possible Russian advance. This mode of raising the money required is the fairest that could have been devised, for it compels the wealthy native traders and capitalists who profit most largely by English rule, and have most to fear from foreign invasion, to pay their fair share of the cost of administration. But these are the very men who control the native press and manipulate Indian public opinion, and they, of course, have raised a great outcry against taxation, which, they say, would have been unnecessary if the English Government had not refused to be a party to any scheme for the rehabilitation of silver. Direct taxation is always more hateful than indirect. The Englishman who drinks a glass of beer, or the Indian who uses a pinch or two of salt

with his food, never reflects that with each mouthful he contributes to the resources of the State; while, on the other hand, the visits of the tax-gatherer to collect a percentage of income in a lump sum are keenly resented in India as well as in England. Hence, the popular feeling in the former country is just at present disposed to welcome any proposal for reducing expenditure which affords the slightest prospect of escape from the yoke of the Income Tax; and native journalists plausibly contend that the injustice is manifest of continuing to pay England in gold for debts incurred at a time when it might easily have been stipulated that payment should be made in silver if any one had foreseen that the rupee was about to be forced down to 15. 6d., and perhaps to 1s. India is, of course, powerless to help herself in the matter, but the depreciation of silver has supplied her with a new grievance.

It may, perhaps, be urged that England is in no way responsible for the extraordinary fluctuations in the price of silver which have taken place during the last fifteen years. This country, it will be said, adopted a monometallic standard seventy years ago, and has made no change in her currency laws since that time. The cessation of the European demand is due primarily to the action of Germany in demonetizing silver in 1872, which compelled France, Italy, and other nations employing a double standard either to reject the cheaper metal altogether or to restrict its coinage within very narrow limits. But France had been contemplating the adoption of a single gold standard before the war of 1870—

"The majority of a commission appointed in 1868 in Paris to consider the subject strongly recommended a gold standard, and that five-franc pieces should be legal tender for not more than 100 francs. A High Council of Commerce, consisting of ministers and high functionaries, and of special commissioners representing commerce and manufacturers, after taking the evidence of witnesses of great financial repute, decided in 1869-70, by a large majority, in favour of a single gold standard; but the suspension of specie payments in France in 1870 thrust the question aside for a time."

* Records of the Government of India, Financial Department.

The chief motive of French statesmen and economists in desiring to introduce this change was to simplify commercial relations with England by the establishment of an international coinage. That most ingenious but unluckiest of English public men, the present Viscount Sherbrooke, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1869, boasted that he took the initiative in urging the French Government to abandon the double standard. Speaking in the House of Commons, on August 6th, he said—

"France has a gold and a silver standard. A gold and a silver is not a double, but an alternate standard. The two metals are always fluctuating in their relation to each other; it is in the nature of things for the cheaper metal for the time being to drive out the dearer. Therefore, when the silver standard drives the gold coin out of circulation, it leaves us nothing to compare our international coin with except the silver standard, to which it would have no exact relation. And so I ventured to say, in answer to the question from the French Government as to an international coinage, that it would be impossible to hold out hopes of assimilation until France made up her mind to give up the silver standard, and have only a gold standard; and I am happy to say that France is favourable to the abandonment of her silver standard, as I gather from the report of a commission on the subject which I have just received."

This, then, was the true source of all our subsequent woes. Lord Sherbrooke may fairly say for himself, "Alone I did it." France being paralyzed in 1871 by the payment of the indemnity for the war, Germany committed the costly blunder of hastening to anticipate her rival by demonetizing silver, and so threw the currencies of all other nations out of gear. Lord Sherbrooke, in the remarks just quoted, says he aimed at putting a stop to the "fluctuations" in the relative value of silver and gold. But from 1801 to 1871 the extreme limits of variation in the ratio of silver to gold ranged from 1 : 15·21 to 1 : 15·80, a difference of less than '60; while in the year 1876, when the full effect of the German demonetization of silver was felt for the first time, the price of the metal fluctuated wildly from 1 : 16·62 to 1 : 20·17, a difference of 3·55 in a single year. The great mistake Lord Sherbrooke made was in limiting his field of vision to the international trade

of European countries, and leaving entirely out of sight the disturbing effect that the disuse of silver for purposes of coinage in Europe would have upon the immense commerce which England, far above all other nations, carries on with the silver currency countries in the far East and in South America. Hence the ludicrous failure of his calculation, that an international gold coinage circulating throughout Europe would supply an invariable standard of value. It was a grievous fault, and grievously has England answered it.

For some time after the fall in silver set in it was generally assumed that England, secure in the enjoyment of her single gold standard, her commercial supremacy, and her control of the money market, had nothing to fear from the depreciation of the inferior metal. Loud complaints were made by the Government of India and by Anglo-Indians, who had to make remittances to this country to provide for the education of their children, that, for every ten rupees they used to send home, they had now to send eleven, twelve, and finally thirteen rupees as the equivalent of a sovereign; but the writers in English financial journals complacently assured them that this was the result of the inevitable law of supply and demand, and that prices would ultimately adjust themselves to the new level of value. It was of no consequence to these philosophical lookers-on that a good many unfortunate people might be ruined before the process of adjustment was completed. But more recently the tables have been turned. An uneasy feeling has arisen in this country that the unprofitable character of English trade may be due, in no small degree, to the appreciation of gold caused by the legislation which has made that metal the sole medium for the interchange of goods in Europe. The practical effacement of silver has had much the same effect in the commercial world as the closing-up of a lung in the human body. One lung has had to do the work of two, and it naturally begins to show signs of exhaustion.

The consequences of the appreciation of gold are now a familiar topic of conversation in all financial circles; and, what is more to the purpose, bolder spirits, casting off the restraint of the old British prejudice in favour of monometallism, have begun to talk about the consequences of the depreciation of silver. Let us consider how these consequences affect England and India respectively.

In a paper on "The Depreciation of Silver as it affects India," read before the Society of Arts in 1882, I ventured to combat the opinion advanced by Sir Louis Mallet and other eminent authorities, that the decline in the exchangeable value of the rupee had had purely disastrous results for India. I maintained that, on the contrary, so long as the prices of produce and labour have not risen in India, the export trade of that country is stimulated and made more profitable by the fall in the price of silver as compared with gold. To put the argument in its simplest form, the Indian exporter who sells wheat or cotton in England is paid in gold; and, if a sovereign is now worth in Bombay thirteen rupees, whereas it was formerly worth only ten, the three additional rupees are evidently so much clear gain to the seller, if the value of the rupee, as measured by the quantity of the common food of the people which it will exchange for in India, remains unaltered. This view has since been generally accepted as correct, as it seems to find confirmation in the remarkable development of Indian exports which has occurred simultaneously with the persistent fall in exchange to the present low level of 1s. 6d. the rupee. But the Finance Minister of India, Sir Auckland Colvin, in an interesting speech delivered by him during the debate on the Income Tax in the Viceregal Council, now challenges the accuracy of this conclusion.

"It seems to me," he says, "a very questionable position to assume that the great increase in our exports is mainly due to the low rate of exchange. I believe it is more owing to the extension of our railways, to the lowering of freights, to the reduction of railway charges, and to the growing facilities

given by the Suez Canal, than to the depreciation of our currency; and I cannot, therefore, think that the expansion of our prosperity will be proportionate to the depreciation of our standard. If silver has fallen 8 per cent. since 1880, freights have fallen far more. Railways have extended; railway charges have been lessened. On December 7, 1880, Suez Canal freights in Calcutta were from £2 16s. 3d. to £2 18s. 9d. per ton; on December 14, 1885, they were from £1 7s. 6d. to £1 8s. 9d. per ton, a fall of 50 per cent. I cannot, therefore, bring myself to believe that exchange is the sole, or the most important, factor in that extension of our export trade, which has of late years attracted so much attention."

The misleading element in this calculation is Sir A. Colvin's omission to point out that the railway and ocean freight, on which such large reductions have been made, forms in itself a comparatively small proportion of the total cost of production of Indian merchandize sent for sale in England, while the 8 per cent. bounty, due to the fall in exchange, is payable on the whole value of the goods. It seems a waste of time to assert that exchange is not the most important factor in swelling the volume of the export trade, when every merchant is aware that the exports of Indian wheat, for instance, rise and fall with the greatest regularity, in accordance with the fluctuations in the international value of the rupee. Of course, other causes have materially helped, but their combined influence has not been equal to that of the decline in exchange. It must be admitted, however, that the argument as to the advaptages that India derives from the depreciation of silver is based upon the assumption, the accuracy of which may be open to dispute, that the rupee has up to this time maintained its full value for purposes of domestic, as distinguished from foreign, trade. Take away this foundation, and the whole superstructure falls to the ground. In 1882 I showed, from evidence collected with a good deal of care, that neither the prices of the principal articles of food consumed by the natives of India, nor the wages of labour—except in the great seaport towns of Bombay and Calcutta—had risen during the preceding ten years. With regard to this difficult question, Mr. Prinsep, the Statistical Reporter of the India Office, has lately prepared for the Royal Com-

mission on the Depression of Trade a series of elaborate and most valuable tables, which still, after the lapse of four more years, point to the same conclusion. Mr. W. G. Pedder, Revenue Secretary at the India Office, in summarizing these tables, remarks that, "In face of a continuous fall in the price of silver, as measured in gold, there has been during the last fifteen years a steady fall in the prices of all, or almost all, kinds of produce in India, measured in silver." This perplexing state of things he accounts for by showing that the increase in the coinage of silver since 1864 has not kept pace with the enormous extension of mercantile business.

"The coinage has been particularly short in the last five years, during which the fall of prices has been most marked, under 5 million pounds annually for that period, against over $7\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds on the average of the preceding twenty-five years. At the same time, the duty thrown on the circulation has been increased by the increase of mercantile transactions, *i.e.*, sales of produce, and by their daily growing extension to remote parts of the country under the influence of improved means of communications, while the practice of hoarding, universal in India during prosperous seasons, as a provision, in the shape of ornaments or of concealed money, against future times of scarcity, must have operated to withdraw from circulation a large proportion of the coinage. And, concurrently with this, recent years of plenty have largely increased the quantity of goods and produce, home or imported, available for sale. So that, in short, there has been during the last few years a larger quantity of goods to exchange for a diminished, or at least relatively diminished, quantity of coin. And this has counteracted the effect in raising prices, which a decrease in the value of silver, measured in gold, might be expected to have."

There is much force in this ingenious solution of the puzzle; but, on the other hand, the silver currency has been supplemented and relieved of late years by the large extension of the banking system throughout India, with the facilities it affords for the conduct of business by means of bills of exchange, and also by the greatly increased use of paper money, the amount of the Government notes in circulation having steadily risen from an average of 9.36 millions sterling in 1865-69, to an average of 14 millions in 1880-84.

Again, we are all too apt to overlook the fact that gold, though not coined by the Government of British India, readily passes current in exchange for all kinds of produce. Mr. Clarmont Daniell, of the Indian Service, in a thoughtful essay on "Discarded Silver,"* says on this point—

"The people of India have for many centuries been accumulating a gold treasure, which now amounts in value to quite 220 million pounds, and which is not used as money. The importations of gold into India during the last fifty years far exceed any previous period four or five times as long. Because it cannot be coined into money, there is apparently no use for it; yet the importations continue undiminished, the exportations of gold are no greater, and the gold treasure of India continues to increase annually, at the rate of about 3 [the present rate is 5] millions sterling. It is true that no legal-tender gold money is current in British India; but there is nothing which from its nature is purchasable with gold in India, from personal services or railway tickets to bales of cotton, for which the seller would not prefer to be paid in gold uncurrent coins—of which a vast quantity exists in India—than in silver money. Happening to ask the price of Company's gold mohurs the other day, a lawyer who was present told me that he had just been paid a fee in gold mohurs, at twenty rupees a-piece; and so it is through the whole range of commerce. Gold rules the market whenever it is brought into use; it is only the currency policy of the Indian Administration, not the wishes of the people, which prevents its use as legal tender money."

This is startling evidence, and seems well calculated to shake the confidence one has hitherto felt in the sustained purchasing power of the rupee in India. I am told, indeed, that Sir A. Colvin declares prices have gone up 25 per cent. in the province of Oude. But Oude is a large wheat-producing country, and the brisk export trade in wheat has undoubtedly forced up the price of that grain in the inland districts where formerly no demand for it existed. Rice, on the other hand, which has always been a principal article of export from India, shows no appreciable change in price, and the same thing may be said of the prices of jawari, bajri, and ragi, which are the ordinary food-grains of the native population. But, in an agricultural country like India, which imports no grain, a good harvest makes a prodigious difference in prices from

* Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.

year to year, and for some years now the soil of India has produced bountiful crops. It seems a pity, therefore, that the India Office, when compiling statistics on the vexed question of prices, did not make inquiries regarding the wages of labour. If these have risen in the agricultural districts, we might infer that there has been a decline in the purchasing power of the rupee. The leading railway contractor in India sent me some statistics in 1882, which proved that labour had not risen in value except in the great Presidency towns, where the rise was due to exceptional circumstances; but a change may have occurred since the fall in silver assumed a more serious, and, apparently, a permanent character.

But the importation of gold into India is by no means a novelty in the economic history of that country. The natives of India have always bought gold largely when trade has been good, and in the five years of the American Civil War, 1860-64, when the growers of cotton made fabulous profits, the net imports of gold amounted to an average of £7,000,000 a year, against £4,697,000 in each of the five years 1880-84. A striking illustration of the real significance of these imports is afforded by the falling off in the five bad years 1874-79, in which the average annual amount of gold imported was only £644,988, and in the worst year of famine, 1878, there was, for the only time in fifty years, an actual net export of £896,258. There can be no doubt, then, that India is at present rejoicing in a season of remarkable prosperity. People shake their heads over the increase in her Home charges, and the terrible drain they make on her resources; but, though the amount of these charges, now averaging £16,000,000 a year, looks very serious, the proportion they bear to the increased volume of the export trade, about one-fifth, is no greater than it was forty years ago; while, on the other side, must be reckoned as a set-off to the interest on Public Works Debt which swells the Home charges, returns to the Indian Treasury on railways and similar investments

amounting to fully £10,000,000 a year. In spite, therefore, of the complaints of native agitators, it may be safely asserted that India is now more prosperous than at any former period in the annals of British rule; and this exceptional prosperity has been shown to be in a great measure due to the depreciation of silver.

But, if India has gained, has England been the loser through the great change that has taken place in the relative value of silver and gold? The prolonged depression in English trade and industry has given rise to many sharp controversies, one result of which has been the gradual formation of a settled public opinion on this question. Several witnesses examined before the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade have stated that British manufactures are languishing, not through over-production, but because business is so unprofitable. Surely this is a distinction without a difference. Over-production does not mean that more goods are produced than the world can possibly consume, but merely that the quantity produced cannot be sold at a price which will repay the cost of production and leave a reasonable profit. The plain truth is, that England has made a god of competition, and that competition is slowly strangling her. That constant increase in the numbers of her people on which she has prided herself as a source of strength is becoming a curse instead of a blessing to her, now that the field of remunerative employment for English labour has ceased to expand in proportion to the growth of population. All the political discontents of the time arise out of the economic revolution, which is at one and the same time closing foreign markets against our exports of manufactured goods, and throwing arable land in Great Britain and Ireland out of cultivation in consequence of the swamping of our corn markets with cheap foreign grain. It is not that our work-people have become less skilful or industrious, or our capitalists less bold and enterprising. The yield of bushels of wheat per acre is still larger in England than anywhere else in the

world. There is no abatement of that ingenuity in the improvement of mechanical appliances which has been so potent a factor in gaining for us our manufacturing supremacy; for hardly a year passes in which some new invention is not brought into play in the mills of Lancashire to increase the productive power of each spindle without adding to the cost of the yarn. As for the operatives, we frequently hear it said, especially by wealthy capitalists who have no patriotic prejudices, and who make money out of factories established abroad, that what Englishmen want to enable them to compete with the foreigner is better technical education. This may possibly be the case as regards fabrics to which beauty of design imparts their chief value; but where competition is now chiefly felt is in the manufacture of simpler and plainer goods, for the production of which the operatives of Lancashire have hitherto enjoyed an unrivalled reputation, and which require in the operative not so much an artistic education as the practical training from childhood upwards, directed by a natural instinct and hereditary aptitude for this kind of employment, which has given the Lancashire artisan his unequalled delicacy of touch and his capacity for turning out the largest possible quantity of work in a given time. Let him have fair play, and the British working-man will still beat the world. But how can he compete against the foreigner who, supplied with the latest English improvements in machinery, is content with lower wages, will work a longer number of hours in each day, and is, besides, protected by a heavy tariff on imports from England? Free trade made this country for some time the workshop of the world; but the other nations of Europe, the United States, and even some of our own colonies, resenting their commercial dependence upon us, have set to work with considerable success to build up industries of their own, and it is now confessed on all hands that England cannot hope to recover her position as the sole purveyor of iron girders and cheap clothing for the civilized world.

There remained, however, the markets of India and China, upon both of which we had forced free trade at the point of the bayonet, and in which it seemed reasonable to hope there would be an ever-increasing demand at least for cotton goods to clothe their swarming populations. This hope is likely to be disappointed, because the fall in the exchange is equivalent to the imposition of a heavy protective duty in favour of the cotton goods manufactured in those silver currency countries. It is most instructive to contrast the buoyant tone in which the Bombay Millowners' Association, in their report for the year ending December 31, 1885, speak of the present position and prospects of their business with the general gloom that prevails in Lancashire, and more particularly at the head-quarters of the spinning as distinguished from the weaving trade. The report states that the Indian industry had passed through a prolonged and severe trial. Two consecutive short crops of cotton had raised prices of the raw material to an abnormally high level, and the demand for goods fell off because 1884-85 was a non-marriage year with the Hindoos, while the trade with China was disturbed by the war between that country and France. Still, the building of new mills went on at a rapid pace on account of the large profits made by millowners up to 1883, and the following statement shows that the quantity of cotton consumed in the mills was doubled in the five years 1879-1884, and is still increasing in the same ratio:—

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MILLS, SPINDLES, LOOMS, &c., IN THE WHOLE OF INDIA.

Year.	Number of Mills.	Number of Spindles.	Number of Looms.	Average No. of hands employed daily.	Approximate amount of cotton consumed.
1878...	53	1,289,706	10,533	...	...
1879...	56	1,455,794	13,018	42,914	267,585
1880...	56	1,461,590	13,502	44,410	307,631
1881...	57	1,513,006	13,707	46,430	378,989
1882...	63	1,620,814	14,172	48,467	397,562
1883...	67	1,790,388	15,373	53,476	456,556
1884...	78	1,918,066	15,725	60,745	524,410
1885...	87	2,158,706	16,537	67,198	597,180

Abundant crops of cotton in India and America caused in the second half of last year a decline of 9 per cent. in the price at Bombay, while simultaneously the price of 20s. yarn advanced 2 per cent., and the greatest confidence is now felt that the industry will have a brighter future. The competition of these mills is by no means limited to India. Three-fourths of the yarn and cloth they produce is exported to China, the Persian Gulf, and Eastern Africa; and in China, more particularly, the Bombay twist finds such favour that it is rapidly driving English yarn out of the market. Mr. Frank Hardcastle, M.P., in a speech recently delivered at Manchester, gave a table showing that, in the five years ending in 1884, the exports of English piece goods to China decreased by 13·4 per cent., and of yarn by 16·3 per cent., while the exports of Indian piece goods and yarn to China increased in the same period by 57·6 and 144·9 per cent. respectively. The following figures illustrate the rapid progress of the whole export trade of India in these goods up to the end of 1885:—

FROM BOMBAY TO FOREIGN PORTS FROM 1880 TO 1885.

Years.	Piece Goods.		Twist	
	Yards.		lbs.	
1880	...	24,841,969	...	28,422,168
1881	...	23,837,622	...	29,675,421
1882	...	30,030,176	...	38,290,511
1883	...	43,286,423	...	46,882,764
1884	...	35,681,159	...	58,614,336
1885	...	37,696,823	...	71,216,772

While the Indian industry is in this flourishing state, the condition of things in Lancashire, so far as the spinning trade is concerned, is as bad as bad can be, and shows no sign of a tendency to improve. Notwithstanding the decline in the price of cotton, a competent witness states that "the margin between raw cotton and yarn was never so low as it is to-day. The margin is now only about 2d., while during the most depressed times in former years the margin

never came below 2½d." Weavers of cloth are in a better position, as they can buy their yarn at very cheap rates, and so take orders at prices which till lately would have been unremunerative. But, so far as spinners are concerned, the profits of the capitalist have been reduced to a *minimum*, and many mills are working at a positive loss. Strenuous efforts have been made in all directions to reduce the cost of production, and the popularity of such an enterprise as the Manchester Ship Canal proves how keenly sensitive both employers and operatives are to the necessity of lowering by any available means the transport charges which add to the cost of their goods. But many an anxious look is cast towards the future. It has already been found necessary to reduce wages in the spinning trade; and, unless things mend, the most hard-working and intelligent class of the industrial population of England will soon be brought face to face with the alternatives of a more or less general closing of the mills, or a serious decline in the standard of comfort to which good wages and comparatively easy hours of labour have accustomed them.

Can such a disaster be prevented? The restoration of silver to its proper place in the currencies of Europe and America would, I cannot but think, arrest the fall in prices which has caused so much mischief. I have seen it argued that a fall in exchange may be regarded with indifference by the English exporter of goods to India, as he can insure himself against risk, with the aid of the telegraph, by selling his shipment in Bombay and buying a return cargo of cotton on the same day. Practically, of course, this is a case of barter, and it is of no consequence what the rate of exchange may be, as the same measure of value is applied to both the cotton and the piece goods. But, if the English merchant can save himself from loss in this manner, it is obvious that the manufacturer from whom he buys his goods for exportation is no party to the transaction. He must accept the price the merchant offers him, that price being necessarily based upon the rate of exchange of the

day, and, if exchange has fallen 1 or 2 per cent., he has to submit to a loss which he has no opportunity of covering. The objection will be raised, that he can buy his cotton at a lower rate in Liverpool. But we are confronted with the facts, already referred to, that, while in Bombay yarns advanced and cotton fell in price during the latter half of 1885, so that the margin of profit for the spinner was greatly enlarged, the margin in Lancashire during the same period became less, in spite of the closing of mills in Oldham for thirteen weeks, and a reduction of 5 per cent. in the wages of the operatives. There were no strikes, no lock-outs, no reductions of wages in Bombay. What constitutes the difference between the two industries? There is no solution possible but this, that the cost of production is payable in gold in England and in silver in India, and that the Bombay millowners can undersell their Lancashire rivals in the Chinese market, because the price payable there in silver is worth its full value to them, while it suffers a loss of 25 per cent. in the process of being remitted to England. The very same mercantile experts, however, who contend that they can carry on business in piece goods without caring what the rate of exchange may be, admit that the depreciation of silver has had a great effect in increasing the supplies of Indian wheat, and so forcing down the prices of agricultural produce in this country. This is quite as serious a matter as the stagnation and impending decay of our cotton industry. Mr. John Bright, more than a year ago, said he thought the price of corn had reached the lowest level, and a good many optimists say the same thing now, when there has been a further decline of about 20 per cent. But the information received from India is that the new crop will be larger than that of last year, and it seems to be within the range of possibility that, if exchange continues to fall, Indian wheat may be sold in the English market at 25s. a quarter. In such a case, what is to become of British agriculture? Cockney critics complacently remark that rents must be cut down. But

this means the loss to England of an enormous amount of capital which now goes to meet the fund available for the employment of labour. Are we, with our ever-growing population, to look on quietly at the accomplishment of this work of national ruin, without stirring hand or foot to avert the catastrophe?

I have now completed my survey of the whole situation, and I claim to have established two propositions: (1) that the fall in the price of silver is due, not to natural causes, but to the arbitrary action of European Governments, following the example, and guided by the advice, of England; and (2) that this depreciation has had a material effect in producing and intensifying the economical and social evils from which England herself is the principal sufferer. The inference is obvious, that a combined attempt should be made by all the British interests affected to induce or compel the Government to send representatives to an International Conference for the purpose of effecting the rehabilitation of silver. For years past all the other commercial nations have looked longingly to England to take the initiative in this matter. A superstitious devotion to monometallism has led successive Governments to refuse to give a helping hand towards bringing silver into general use as money having a fixed ratio to gold. But the question becomes of greater urgency with every day that passes. Earl Grey has lately addressed to the *Times* two elaborate letters in which he repeats the familiar arguments against bimetallism, and proposes to relieve the scarcity of gold by issuing £1 notes in this country, against a reserve of silver varying with the market price of the metal. It may be doubted if the preference of Englishmen for the sovereign over a piece of dirty paper could be easily overcome; but, in any case, this expedient would have little or no effect, as what is wanted is a new instrument of international exchange, and the £1 notes would be useless out of England. The only plan that would give us real relief would be the establishment by common consent of a fixed ratio between gold and silver

—I do not say that that ratio must necessarily be 1 : 15½— which would allow the United States and the Continental Powers of Europe to bring freely into circulation the stocks of silver now lying useless in the national banks. We are frequently told that any such arrangement would be futile, and that the price of silver must inevitably be regulated by the law of supply and demand. But the contention of bimetallists is that the natural action of this law has been violently disturbed by the demonetization of silver, and that the free coinage of silver as well as gold would restore a demand which should never have been cut off. It would not be impossible, I should think, to make such an arrangement with the owners of silver mines as would prevent the market from being swamped by a greatly increased annual production, consequent on the appreciation of the metal. Mr. C. Daniell argues that, if the ratio were fixed above the present market price, the natives of India would hasten to coin their silver into rupees, with which they would buy gold from abroad, at (say) 1 oz. to 15½ ozs., that would be worth in their own country 19 ozs. of silver. But the prices of the two metals in India would quickly adjust themselves to the ratio fixed in the universal market. Earl Grey maintains that this would be a violation of existing contracts; but how many past contracts have been violated by the artificial depreciation of silver? We cannot retrace our steps without injuring some interests, but, if we continue to advance in the path marked out by uncompromising monometallists, nothing but ruin awaits us.

J. M. MACLEAN.

NATIVE INDIA.

CENTRAL INDIA and Rajputana form the India of the Rajas. There are, indeed, groups of native States elsewhere, such as the Kattiawâr principalities of Bombay, or the Rajput kinglets with their tiny capitals hidden in the Himalayan valleys; while here and there, from the wide ocean of British dominion, rise solitary islands of native territory, like Hyderabad and Mysore. But the two political divisions of Central India and Rajputana, with Bahawalpur and the Sikh States, form an unbroken sheet of country owned by indigenous princes, stretching from the Sutlej and the Indus to the distant Nerbudda—a hundred States in which the ancient form of rule survives almost unchanged, and where the influence of Western civilization and English methods are little perceptible. There is no part of Hindustan so interesting as this for those who delight to learn the secret, inner life of the Indian people from whose stock have sprung the various races of the West. Elsewhere must be sought the great and sometimes doubtful triumphs of English civilization; the mast-thronged ports of Bombay and Calcutta, cities larger than Glasgow and Liverpool, which have risen where, a few generations back, mud forts or Hindu villages could alone be seen; the laws and regulations which bind British India into a well-ordered and homogeneous system; the regular bazaars and trim bungalows; the jails and barracks and court-houses, the unlovely paraphernalia of a strong, active, and unpicturesque civilization.

But to discover the warp and woof on which England has woven the new garment of Manchester pattern and aniline dye, in which she has enwrapped so large a part

of India, we must turn aside from the beaten paths of tourists, into the quiet ways of Rajasthan, the country of the Rajas, where petty chiefs with high-sounding titles govern or misgovern, in patriarchal style, a simple and docile people, and visit towns and villages where the face of the Englishman has been rarely seen. Even in this land of perpetual afternoon there is a change. There is no district so remote, no village so deeply buried in primeval jungle, in which the name and presence and power of the British Government are not known and felt as a living force; and where, in a native State, there is most oppression, thence are prayers most often directed to the distant Sirkár for aid and redress. For in Native India the British Government appears to the people not the rapacious demon which so many denationalized Englishmen are fond of portraying it, but as the spirit of beneficence; as an earthly providence which alone can restrain the evil passions of despotic rulers. In British India, the Government is not altogether beloved. A brood of newspaper writers has been reared, who, in gratitude for an education gratuitously given, revile the rulers whose chief desire has been to make India prosperous and free. The mass of the people, who have naturally short memories, have forgotten the old days of anarchy, when no one could keep property or wife except by his own strong arm; when the peasant drove his plough armed with his spear and shield, and could not know if he would ever reap where he had sown. The British law courts are too precise, and perhaps too honest, for the Oriental, who, next to receiving a bribe, loves to give one, and thus enjoy the delight of believing that his adversary has been worsted, not alone by the automatic action of the law, but by his own rupees judiciously expended. Our regulations are too inflexible and rigid for the soft, shiftless Indian, who lives from hand to mouth, and feels the atmosphere of life too rarefied, unless he be deeply in debt. He loses the most engrossing interest of his existence when his perpetual struggle with the money-lender

is interrupted by a swift legal process which compels him to pay his debt, or sweeps away his poor chattels from his mud hut in execution of a decree. But in the native States of Central India he has experienced none of these civilized inconveniences. His simple life has not been troubled by the unfathomable mysteries of codes and acts of council which every British subject, by a sad pretence, is expected to read and understand. He only knows and feels that in the British Government there is a mysterious power, high above Rajas and Maharajas, which they fear and must obey. He sees this power exercised in his favour, and not against him. He is accustomed to look to the English officer as his last and surest refuge against oppression, with the result that the people in India most attached to the Government, and most ready to obey its slightest wish, are often to be found among the population of native States.

In this general sentiment of affection and respect is contained the chief charm of political work and its best reward. The political agent who represents the Government in a native State, and is the official adviser of the chief and the channel of his communication with the higher and more distant authorities, has been cleverly sketched by Mr. Abernethy Mackay in his "Twenty-one Days in India." His flag, his tame tiger, his Raja, and his air of authority, have been drawn by the hand of a master. But the portrait is admittedly a caricature. No doubt officers may be met possessing some family likeness to the picture, whose self-consciousness and importance crown them as with the nimbus of a mediæval saint. But amiable weaknesses such as these are little regarded by the Indian, to whom life is but a serious endeavour to answer the riddle of the painful earth, and whose powers of humour are undeveloped. He looks behind these thin pretences with which the self-sufficient political agent asserts his individuality, and sees—what a superficial caricaturist could not see—a true man, representing a living power. This is no man in buckram; no scarecrow dressed in the Foreign Office rags and

patches. This young civilian, or staff corps captain, is, in the eyes of the Raja and his subjects, the incarnation of the unseen Sirkâr, an Avatâr of strength and justice, the shrine to which the poor may successfully appeal when they have vainly wearied with their prayers the vermilion-smeared deities of the village. The British officer, in native States, rarely appears in the character of the magistrate, the policeman, or the tax-collector. These unappreciated functions belong to the Raja and his servants, who are the lightning conductors to draw down the popular wrath. Hence the Englishman in Native India, if he be patient and sympathetic, is loved by the people and only feared by the chief. The children do not run and hide as he passes by, and, often, riding along the country ways, where perhaps no Englishman has ever passed before, and where he and his Government must have been no more than a name, the village women will come out and place their dusky, naked babes before his horse, and induce him, by such gentle persuasion, to listen to some simple trouble.

It is doubtful whether the Indian Government have ever realized the importance which attaches to the selection of officers for political or diplomatic work in native States. The opportunities for distinction are so great in this service, while the duties are, in their nature, so interesting, that there has always been considerable competition for the appointments, and it should not have been difficult to select able and experienced employes. But it has been a service of patronage, and suffers from the curse which attaches to every department in which interest and not merit determines both the original appointment and the subsequent promotion. Until recently it has been exclusively filled by military officers, and the history of India will prove how brilliantly and successfully many of them have fulfilled their duties. Indeed, it is probable that for a large number of appointments under the Foreign Office, military officers, transplanted early, and carefully trained under intelligent supervision, are preferable to the average

of civilians, who, brought up in a rigid school of law and procedure, and expecting, in the slovenly arrangements of a native State, the same system and order that prevails in a British district, are apt to be impatient of the irregularities and anomalies which everywhere abound. On the other hand, there are many political agencies where a competent and practical knowledge of criminal law is essential, and where boundary disputes and agrarian troubles between chiefs and people can only be understood and settled by one who has been thoroughly trained in the revenue systems of British India, and who has had to work out similar problems in a land revenue settlement, that best of all possible schools for teaching knowledge of and sympathy with the people. The best solution of the difficulty would probably be to divide political appointments equally between military and civil officers, compelling all to pass a probation of two years in a British district, and only finally selecting those who were reported by the local government, under which they had served, to be patient, intelligent, self-reliant, and discreet.

Far more anxiety is shown now than in former days to secure good nominees for the Indian Foreign Office, which has to a great extent shaken itself free from the careless favouritism of the past; and it may reasonably be hoped that the diplomatic service may eventually become what it should be—the recognized ambition of the ablest of Her Majesty's Indian servants, connection with which was an admitted proof of merit. The standard of work of every kind is rising, and the exigencies of the Empire demand that its important interests, in critical times and complicated and difficult situations, should not be entrusted to men who have only been distinguished as useful aides-de-camp, untrained cavalry officers, or stupid sons of country neighbours in England. Such were, it is true, always the minority, and there are many military officers in the political service to-day of the highest ability, and capable of performing any duty that their country may require of

them; but no side door should be left open to incompetence in a service which needs high and exceptional qualifications in all its members.

Every Englishman in official life in India represents his country in a special manner; and from an estimate of his kindness, resource, and courage, a very large number of the Indian population take their measure of the virtues of the Government of which he is the servant. And if this be the case in British India, where English officials abound, and where unfavourable impressions of one might be corrected by an observation of the merits of another, far more is it true of Native India, where the political agent is often the only Englishman with whom chief and people come in contact. If he be patient, sympathetic, and wise, the hands of the Government are strengthened; if he be careless and ignorant of native ways, the failure is daily felt, and in critical times will cause irreparable mischief. Patience is the daughter of knowledge: and an inexperienced and ignorant political officer is impatient and irritable because he is not in sympathy with the people whose feelings and modes of thought he does not understand. He is shocked at improprieties which are the every-day incidents of a native court: he is astonished to find that forgery or perjury are universally accepted as holding rank among the fine arts; independence is mistaken by him for insolence, and subservience for honesty. His measure is taken very quickly by the sharp Brahman minister of the Raja, who bribes the native superintendent of his office to keep the *sahib* in a reasonable temper. He may still bluster and invoke the name and dignity of the Government to conjure with, but all the native world knows that he is the slave of a slave, and that the white-robed *munshi* who reads his petitions is his master.

Although the rule of Native India may superficially be described as despotism tempered by fear of the British Government, yet it must not be supposed that there are no further and powerful checks on the exercise of autocratic

power. These are found in Rajput States, in the independent spirit and family equality with the chief of all the great landholders and nobles, sprung from the same stock, and ready to unite in active opposition if he threatens their position or privileges. In Mahratta States this influence is wanting, but in Central India the rulers of such principalities are of different race to the vast majority of their subjects, who would not endure from them the oppression which they might submit to from their ancient hereditary princes. The right of the oppressed to resist is generally in abeyance. The cultivating class in this part of India are too gentle to withstand tyranny as would the bold, hardy races of the Punjab. Worn down by generations of servitude and anarchy, the Pax Britannica has not yet brought them sufficient confidence to assert even the most elementary rights of humanity. They are content to suffer. It is their only heritage.

The Muhammadan dynasties of Central India are, like the Mahratta, the mere outcome of conquest by foreign adventurers. They have no root in the country, the rural population of which is purely Hindu, and they are compelled to temper the strictness of Islamitic rule by prudent consideration for the sentiment of the indigenous race. But I doubt if Muhammadan rule is ever acceptable to nonconforming populations. The modern Turk is a very tolerant person, though in a disagreeable, contemptuous way; and the Christians in Turkey are far better treated than are schismatics and dissenters by the Russian Government across the border; but there is, nevertheless, an instinctive, deep-rooted dislike to the Turkish Government among all subject Christian races, although their specific grievances may be few. In the same manner the Imperial rule of Indian princes like Baber and Akbar was tolerant enough. They fought for glory, not for the love of God; and their enthusiasm had in it no element of *jihad*.^{*} Imām

* A holy war waged against infidels and idolaters.

Shaukani, in his book "*Badar Fala*," tells a story to the effect that Tamerlane the conqueror inquired of the Kazis* of his court whether his slain soldiers or those of his enemy would enter Paradise. A learned man replied: "Muhammad (may the peace of God be on him!) has said: Some fight from religious zeal, some to show their valour, and some to display their military talents. Of these, only those will reach Paradise who fight for God alone."

Fortunately for the peace of India, there is, to-day, no strong spirit of Muhammadan fanaticism directed against the Government, for it is understood that the faith of Islam nowhere enjoys greater security and toleration than in Hindustan, and all attempts of disloyal persons to incite the *Ulama*† against us, and to declare India a country in which *jihad* may be waged against the Government, failed completely and ignominiously. Yet there is undoubtedly some Islamitic revival in the country; the dry bones are beginning to stir, and more fervour is shown by Muhammadans in combating schism within Islam and in denouncing idolatry without. The less strict followers of the Prophet, who make offerings at shrines and reverence dervishes and fakirs, are held up to reprobation as *Bidatis*, or heretics, by the straighter sects; while Wahabeeism, representing in its non-political significance a more ascetic, dogmatic, and zealous creed than the easy Hinduized form of faith now prevalent, has gained numerous adherents in the northern provinces. I do not, however, anticipate that Wahabeeism will ever become popular. Its severe and unamiable features are better suited to the Arabs of the Nejd than to the self-indulgent people of India; who, in adopting Islam, have not lost the dreamy, lotus-eating sentiment that pervaded their ancient Hindu creed, and who listen to the curses showered on those who eat opium, or drink spirits, or frequent nautches, with the same aversion with which the temperate Englishman regards the eccentric fanaticism of

* Law officers.

† Priests—learned men.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson and the Blue Ribbon Army. It is difficult to determine what direction Muhammadan excitement may take, and it may subside as quietly and as quickly as it has arisen. But of its existence there is no doubt, and the growth of religious fervour and consequent intolerance has not improved the condition of Hindu populations subject to Muhammadan rulers. Its effects are visible in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, and it was not to be expected that India should altogether escape the contagion, although here the sympathetic attitude of the Government, and their sincere desire to investigate and remove any Muhammadan grievance or disability, have deprived the agitation of its chief political importance. The symptom most constant in India is the increasing irritation between Hindus and Muhammadans, which has brought them into conflict in some places, and is everywhere shown in the disposition to complain to British officers of real or imaginary slights, or insults to temples and mosques, or interruption of the freedom of worshippers. Such complaints are generally frivolous, and it may truly be said that in India, Muhammadanism assumes its most amiable form, and that fanaticism, in the form so familiar in Afghanistan and Central Asia, is almost unknown. It is a curious fact, whether to be explained on psychological or geographical grounds, that the nearer the neighbourhood to the trans-frontier fanatic, the more indifferent is the Indian population. The Muhammadans of the Punjab are singularly averse to dogmatic theology, and are far less fanatical than those who live surrounded by a Hindu population in Madras and Bengal.

There are six Muhammadan States in Central India, but the only one of great importance is that of Bhopal. Here the proportion of Hindus to the ruling creed is nine to one, being 747,004 to a Muhammadan total of 82,164. This is naturally a larger proportion than elsewhere in the province, the population of which is nine millions and a quarter, and where the Hindus are to the Muhammadans in the proportion of thirteen to one; but the difference is chiefly

due to the influence of the capital, which attracts a large number of foreign Muhammadan immigrants. The cultivating population is almost purely Hindu.

Muhammadans in British India have urged their claims to Government employment with much energy and success; and although they do not avail themselves of the educational advantages offered freely to all with the same readiness as Hindus, yet they have insisted on their right to appointments proportional at least to their numerical position in the general population. This claim the British Government has been quite willing to concede. It has felt that in a considerable part of India the Muhammadans were the ruling power last in authority before English supremacy, and that it would be both wise and generous to entrust them with a full and fair share of administrative offices. But it must not be understood that the principle which the followers of Islam assert in their own favour, they are willing to apply in favour of others where they possess the authority; and in Bhopal, with a very few exceptions, the officials are Muhammadan—a creed which the mass of the people regard not only without sympathy, but with positive aversion.

The authority of the *Kazis*, or law officers, holding a religious status as interpreters of the Koran and its commentaries, is, in purely Muhammadan States, a strong protection against official tyranny. All important decisions are forwarded to them for opinion and revision, and the civil and criminal courts are unable to enforce their judgments in opposition to the orthodox interpreters of the Divine law. The *Kazi* class is, as may be imagined, prejudiced and arrogant, and although their knowledge of the rules and prescriptions of Islam may be complete, yet their practice differs widely from those principles of evidence and equity with which British India is familiar. Yet for all this they form, in purely Muhammadan communities, a wholesome check on despotism, and the orthodox Moslem has been often protected by them against

injustice. But where the population is Hindu, and only the ruling body Muhammadan, then the interposition of the Kazi and his interference with the normal action of the law courts is an intolerable grievance. The great majority of the population are placed under disabilities of the most oppressive kind, and their position in a court of law is no better than that of the Jews in the Dark Ages. In illustration of this I will quote from a criminal case now lying before me for confirmation, removed from the cognizance of a Muhammadan State for gross miscarriage of justice. The case was one against the chief city magistrate, a man of high position, and his subordinates, for torturing and beating to death a Hindu arrested on a charge of theft. The principal has been condemned by the political officer who tried the case to ten years' rigorous imprisonment, and the lesser offenders to shorter terms, on abundant and satisfactory testimony. Some time ago the case was heard by a competent and honest judge in the native State, and the record of his investigation, containing the identical evidence on which the men have now been convicted, was sent to the Kazi for opinion, which ran as follows:

1. "The prisoners are Muhammadans. All the witnesses, prisoners in the lock-up, who give evidence against them, save one, Amir Ali, are Hindus. Therefore their evidence cannot be used against Moslems, as they are pagans.

2. "One of the prisoners in the lock-up (Amir Ali) is certainly of the true faith; but he was a prisoner under trial, charged with an offence, and therefore his evidence cannot be admitted.

3. "There is one other Moslem witness against the prisoners, viz., Azimullah; but it is contrary to Muhammadan law for any one to be condemned on the evidence of one witness. Therefore the prisoners should be released."

This opinion was forwarded to the chief mufti of the State (chief law officer), who confirmed the decision, as did the ruling prince.

It will be readily understood that with the law of evidence thus applied, the Hindu community do not regard the rule of Islam with any favour.

It is not possible to discuss here with any completeness the reasons for the animosity, which seems increasing, between Hindus and Muhammadans, and which constitutes the chief future danger to public tranquillity. No subject deserves more careful consideration and inquiry, or more patient effort of the Government to avert or minimize the danger. I have already said that in India Islam is ordinarily seen in its least aggressive and fanatical form. But it still is an active, proselytizing creed, and shows no signs of decreasing vitality. Africa will probably be completely occupied by it, and Christianity, which is not as acceptable to the lower intelligences of that continent, will be driven gradually from the field. In India, Muhammadanism has gained largely, and its rate of progression tends continually to increase. For in the slow disintegration and decomposition of Brahmanism, due to contact with Western ideas and science, when Hindus, seeing their ancient deities tottering on their shrines, cast about for some new creed to replace that which is passing away, Muhammadanism has found its opportunity. Christianity, so far, has not shown sufficient adaptability to attract educated converts, who do not fail to notice that modern criticism has treated its mysteries and dogmas with as little respect as the myths of Hinduism. Moreover it is handicapped by the compulsory neutrality of the Government which, in self-defence, amid the clamour of contending creeds, has adopted the sensible attitude of the proconsul of Achaia when he drove the Jews from the judgment-seat, and refused to decide questions of religious law or observance. For the Christian convert there is no future outside the mission fold. Originally of low caste, his social position in the native community becomes after conversion still more degraded. His family treat him as an outcast and disown him; while his Christian rulers ignore his change of creed as a matter to them indifferent. Many trades and professions are closed to him by the simple process of boycotting, which flourishes in India as luxuriantly as in Ireland; while Europeans do not care to

employ him from a belief, founded on extended experience, that his new creed has removed his ancient prejudice against the brandy bottle.

The social disabilities which attach to a Christian convert are not felt by a Muhammadan proselyte. He is disowned, it is true, by the Hindu family, but he is welcomed with enthusiasm into a wealthy, numerous, and powerful community, where he can make new friends and connections, and where he may attain to a far higher social position than that to which his low birth condemned him by Hindu unalterable prescription. Hence it is that Islam attracts many young Hindus, and the frail beauties of the bazaar are the most active missionaries, and persuade many of their lovers to change their creed.

Hinduism, or rather Brahmanism, although an assimilating and receptive religion, is not a proselytizing one. It allows and indirectly encourages aboriginal tribes to enter its bounds that it may enlarge its area of paying subscribers to the ruling caste; but it has no missionary enthusiasm. Its strength is to sit still, and it is thus unable to compete with the energetic propaganda of Islam. Since its vigorous and successful attack on Buddhism, 2,000 years ago, it has shown itself eminently tolerant, and has only cared to defend itself against outside attack. It does not seek to destroy or subvert the creed of others. Maharaja Sindhia subscribes to mosques and churches as well as temples; Maharaja Holkar presents *hizras** to the Muhammadans of Indore. Notwithstanding this tolerant or indifferent spirit, it is a fact that the Hindus hate the Muhammadans much more intensely than they are hated by them. The reason is partly resentment at the unscrupulous proselytism of Islam, often accompanied by force or fraud; and partly from a remembrance of the fierce and bloody persecutions which have occasionally been launched against the Hindus by fanatical rulers, in which the idols

* Representations of the tomb of Imams Hassan and Hussein at the festival of the Moharram.

have been thrown down, the temples defiled, and the worshippers slain. If England were to conduct her missionary enterprises in India in the manner favoured by Islam when in power, she would be as hated in the East as she is to-day honoured as the impartial protector of all pious people of every creed.

No more interesting speculation can be entered upon than the future religious belief of India. It has been discussed by Sir Alfred Lyall in more than one essay with the utmost ability, but his critical and philosophical mind has not allowed him to form or, at any rate, to express a definite opinion as to the ultimate result. The conditions of the problem are too complicated for dogmatism, yet I cannot but think that the balance of probabilities is somewhat in favour of Muhammadanism becoming the future dominant creed of India. Although this might occasion some political inconvenience, yet the prospect, necessarily a remote one, might be awaited with much equanimity. Islam, as I have shown, is shaken by many feuds and schisms, generating in their friction much present heat; but these, it may be hoped, under the softening and healing influence of Western culture, will settle into some more tolerant, liberal, and sympathetic form. Even to-day we have an acknowledged Muhammadan sect which, under the name of Necharis (from the English word *nature*), try to combine the teachings of Darwin and Huxley with the precepts of Muhammad. The time may come when the various hostile sects, Shias and Sunnis, the Ahl-i-Hadis and Wahabees, Sufis, Bidatis, and Necharis, will find their differences much less important than they now appear. This, however, is no more than a hope. Schisms, whether in trees or creeds, have a tendency to widen; and certainly many existing Muhammadan disputes are so trivial that they would not discredit a Nonconformist congregation in England. In the Muhammadan State of Tonk I am at the present moment trying to compose a quarrel between the Borahs, a wealthy trading tribe of Shia Muhammadans, and their Sunni co-religion-

ists, which resulted in the expulsion of the Borahs from the town with their Pir (or chief priest) by order of the local governor. The principal cause of quarrel was that one party insisted that Bismillah (In the name of God) should be said while cutting the throat of a sheep or goat, while the opposite party contented itself with shouting "Yâ Ali." But Muhammadanism shares with other creeds of greater pretensions to sweet reasonableness the right to create battle-cries out of the most trivial differences in dogma or ceremonial.

The condition of Muhammadans in Hindu States is generally satisfactory, and their religious observances are not interfered with. Mosques are freely allowed, and the "azân," or call to prayer, so fruitful a cause of ancient strife, sounds as regularly in Hindu as in Moslem towns. Where the Jain sect prevails some grievance is caused by the prohibition of the slaughter of animals for sacrifice or food during certain festivals, but this is a disability which affects the majority of Hindus equally with the Muhammadans. The Jains, indeed, have often a power which the Maharaja or Raja is altogether unable to question. Numerically a small sect, they constitute, under the name of Saragis in Northern India, and Jains in the Southern Provinces, a very powerful community, including a large proportion of the wealthy banking and money-lending caste (Banias). It was at one time thought that they were the modern representatives of Buddhism in India, and although this distinction is now denied them, and left for Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott to pick up, they have some family likeness to Buddhists, and in nothing more than in their horror of destroying animal life. Jain ascetics, men and women, cover their mouths with a white bandage, giving them a ghastly and sepulchral appearance, in order that no insect may enter their mouth, and they

* Ali was the son-in-law of Muhammad. The Sunnis consider him the fourth Khalifa or successor of Muhammad; the Shias hold him to be the direct successor, ignoring the other three Khalifas.

sweep the ground before them at every step to avoid accidental destruction of an insect. They will not allow wild fowl to be shot or fish to be caught on the lakes or tanks near the town where they are numerous; and as they hold the power of the purse, and the Raja is generally deeply indebted to them, he is afraid to offend them. If he did the shops would forthwith be shut, and trade suspended until expiation had been made. The city of Rutlam has a larger proportion of Jains than any other in Central India, probably because the State is thoroughly well governed and trade facilities are great. The Raja is a young man of liberal ideas and a keen sportsman; but he is not able to oppose successfully the Jain fanaticism, and no fish or fowl can be taken from the sheets of water adjoining his town and palace.

I have only given the case of the Jains as an illustration of the manner in which Hindu society is able to protect itself under governments which can only be classed as despotic; where the ruler is to all appearance the ultimate and sole depositary of authority. Sir Henry Maine, in his invaluable work on the village communities of India, has graphically described the strange vitality and endurance of these bodies, which are the administrative units from which all popular government in India must be constructed. Wave after wave of foreign conquest has rolled over the country; storms of anarchy, generation after generation, have raged; but the village communities have bent like reeds to the blast; they have been overwhelmed by the rising waters, but, on its subsidence, they have still been there unchanged, and adversity and tyranny, though they may affect their happiness, do not destroy their life. And as with the village in its composite form, so with most of the social orders of Hindus, bound together by the strong cords of caste, and governed, within themselves, by immemorial prescription which the most powerful member is impotent to break or loose; they present to the oppressor an organized resistance which he is unable to overcome.

He may tyrannize over individuals, but he cannot successfully struggle with united communities; the cultivators refuse to accept his leases; the nobles go into open revolt; the grain dealers close their shops. The interests of no class can, in a Hindu State, be long disregarded with impunity, and if Hobbes's definition of liberty as power cut in fragments be correct, it may be almost asserted that the subjects of a Hindu prince are free.

The political force and effects of caste in India, its advantages and its evils, are little understood either in England or India, and I cannot but suspect that the popular judgment regarding it has been prejudiced by the denunciations of missionaries who certainly have found caste the most fatal obstacle to their successful proselytism. But if the educated Englishman regard it with eyes unclouded by the polemics of theology, he will find that, from a social as well as a political point of view, it possesses great and conspicuous merit. A consideration of its social aspect would lead me too far from the objects of this paper; but regarding its political bearings I will offer a few suggestions. I have already shown that in caste, which must not be understood as adequately expressed by a few broad divisions, familiar to schoolrooms, such as Brahman, Khattri, or Sudra, but which is a minute subdivision of tribes and sub-tribes into rigid social connection and trade-unions, the great defence of Hindu society against the attacks of despotism has, through many generations, been found. It has preserved administrative capacity among the Brahmans and the military virtues among the many warrior classes of Northern and Central India. It has preserved for the people generally such freedom as they contrived to retain when we occupied British India, and which they now enjoy in native States. But it has done for the British Government, and for those administrations which preceded it, far more than this. It has kept the people content. The ruin of former dynasties was not due to the impatience of the people at a foreign yoke

pressing upon the national life. They fell, as they deserved to fall, from their own corruption and internal decay; from the careless disregard of the rights, not of nationality, but of humanity; from resentment at cruel exactions which took from the crushed peasant the motive of life; from the spirit of revenge roused by social outrage or desecration of popular religious sentiment. If England continue to rule with justice, moderation, and impartiality, with clean hands and an honest and eager desire to work the good of the people, there is no fear that the Hindus will ever turn against her. And the explanation of this security is chiefly to be found in caste, which, by depriving the people of ambition, has left each man content with his position in life. Last year, Mr. Lowell, the late American Minister, told us that one of the advantages of democracy was that it enabled "a man to climb from a coal-pit to the highest position for which he was fitted." But in India, fortunately for society and the Government, the collier would have no inclination to climb at all. Every occupation, even thieving, is hereditary; and the rules of caste ordinarily compel a man to follow the occupation of his forefathers, except where English influence and education have displaced the conservative tradition in favour of a more democratic view of the rights of humanity. But the English embroidery is only upon the hem of the mysterious garment of Indian life, and the great mass of the people are unaffected by the struggles of the young men of our schools and colleges to obtain a share in the offices at the disposal of Government. Even with these, the spirit of caste is still strong, and a wise policy would encourage and not stifle it.

It is only by a careful estimate of the resisting power of caste, acted upon by the dynamic influences of Western civilization, that any clear understanding of the present attitude of some of the more highly educated of the Hindu community can be obtained. During the recent elections we have seen a Bengali Baboo, with admirable courage,

offer himself as a mark for the rotten eggs and dead cats of the Deptford roughs. Three young Hindus, from Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, fluent in the platitudes which delight inexperienced youth, have addressed crowded meetings in England as delegates from and representatives of the people of India. As such they have been received and embraced by English politicians whose party zeal has outrun their discretion. It is certain that the Indian-delegates did not represent India, or anything more than the views and ambitions of a small and unpopular class. But the denial of their sacred mission and national delegation would be incorrectly based on the superficial ground of their English education placing them beyond the sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, or on the undoubted fact that a native of Bengal or Madras would be indignantly repudiated as speaking on behalf of the North-western Provinces or the Punjab, where he is regarded with contempt. The reason which makes the pretended delegation an impossibility resides in caste. Two considerations are involved. The young *soi-disant* delegate either observes the rules of caste in England or he does not. In the latter case—and champagne and English dinners are quite in fashion among young Hindus in London—the delegate is an outcast; his stricter countrymen care nothing for his opinions, however fluently expressed, and would allow him to die in a ditch, like a dog, rather than touch with a finger his polluted body. If he retains his caste by rigid ceremonial observance when abroad, or purchases re-entry to it on his return to India, by consenting to loathsome and degrading penances and large payments to Brahmans, he may become the pride and oracle of his own caste-fellows; but no other social order will have anything to say to him. It is difficult to explain or sufficiently emphasize the absolute failure of sympathy between the more important class-divisions of India. Much of Central India is inhabited by Bhils, an ancient people of singularly gentle and simple ways. But

It is exceedingly difficult to persuade the Rajput chiefs and their Brahman ministers to treat their subject Bhils with common humanity. They look down upon them as dogs, whom only the eccentric philanthropy of the British Government can find excuse for protecting. This is an extreme illustration, seeing that there is a prevalent, though I think a mistaken, belief that the Bhils are an aboriginal and non-Aryan race; but between clearly defined and pure castes there is the same want of cohesion and lack of sympathy. Let us follow the Bengal delegate to his Indian home. As a young Brahman he has undergone the before-mentioned purificatory ceremonial, and is now as bigoted and enwrapped in spiritual pride as though he had never seen Pall Mall or dined at the Northbrook Club. No one so scrupulous as he in paying the mint, anise, and cummin of the Brahmanical law; in obeying the tedious and trivial ceremonial which occupies a large part of the time of the priestly class. He understands that his superstitious relatives and jealous friends are on the watch to see if English travel has caused him to lapse from the straight paths of orthodoxy, and he consequently is more loud than his fellows in denouncing any departure from the strict rule of Brahmanical practice. He defends, in society and the press, the accursed system of early marriage which delivers children of ten and eleven to outrage and physical ruin; he upholds the custom not less accursed which dooms the widow, married in infancy, and whose husband may have died before she ever entered his door, to degrading household slavery or to prostitution; and he holds the British Government to have grossly exceeded their rightful authority when they prohibited Suttee and forbade the murder of parents on the cruel banks of the Ganges. His attitude towards the people of India—that is, to those whom, at Birmingham, he pretended to represent, is precisely similar to that of the priest and the Levite in the gospel story towards the man who fell among thieves. The road from Jerusalem to Jericho might be that between Calcutta

and Burdwan. The people may be stripped and wounded and left for dead for all the Brahman cares. They are not of his caste. The difference between him and all other created beings is immeasurable, and he cannot interest himself in the sufferings of ordinary mortals. The fine sentiments in glorification of our common humanity which he has learned by rote from Comte, and Spencer, and which sound melodiously in the long ears of the British public on London platforms, are to him idle words, and every action and ruling principle of his life give them the lie. Even if the higher castes understood the wants of the lower, and were ready to press them upon the Government, their assistance would be declined through hereditary distrust. The inferior classes have as much pride of caste as the higher; and it is difficult to find one so degraded that there is not a lower depth. Indeed, some of the least considered professions are the most punctilious on questions of caste observance.

It seems logically to follow from this argument that the Indian delegates represent nothing but themselves and the numerically small class to which they belong, and that the only guardian of the dumb millions who toil and suffer is the British Government. But it would be a mistake to assert that the demands of the class educated in English colleges are unworthy of attention or can be safely disregarded. Although their motives be interested, and their care nought for popular grievances, which, indeed, the Government is eager to redress without their help or prompting, they form a compact body of fairly, but not highly educated persons into whom the liberal policy of England has, by an inevitable compulsion, infused ideas and desires foreign to the old Hindu prescription. It is both our interest and our duty to consider their demands with patience, and decide upon them with generosity, not forgetting to conform our policy, so far as may be possible, to those lines which will be in harmony with the deep-rooted sentiment of Hindu society. The subject of the increased employment of Indians in the judicial

and administrative service of the Government is too large for treatment in this place ; but it may safely be asserted that all considerations of equity and public polity require that a far larger proportion of Government offices should be made over to natives ; the number of appointments to the Civil Service should be reduced, and the English rulers should divest themselves of many of the duties which can be adequately performed by native employes. It is not to be supposed that the work will be as well done as by trained Englishmen ; but our standard of administrative excellence is pitched unnecessarily high, and, especially in the matter of judicial procedure, is far in advance of the knowledge and appreciation of the people. Nor will the lower classes, who universally prefer an English to a native judge, approve the change ; but some disadvantages are inseparable from every reform. The administration may be made less costly, while it remains sufficiently good for practical purposes.

A superficial objection occurs in the fear that, as in Ireland, no concessions will be accepted as final ; but Indian tradition does not justify it. The Brahman and Writer castes are attempting, quite laudably, though somewhat grotesquely, on Deptford platforms, to fulfil their *raison d'être*, the hereditary conditions of their caste requirements. They have for a thousand years been employed in high office, administrative and judicial. Muhammadans, Sikhs, Rajputs, Mahrattas, have all employed Brahmans or Kayaths as their ministers, judges, and secretaries. They will not—for their traditions do not lie that way—ask to be appointed Viceroy or Commander-in-Chief. They will not even demand to be made colonels of regiments, or commissioners of territorial divisions. But they require and should receive a fair share, which they have not yet obtained, of the ordinary appointments which are not directly and obviously the prerogative of the ruler. The Brahman minister never attempted to supplant the Rajput chief. Great as the power of the Brahmans, and

absolute as their influence have been, and still are, over the Hindu people, they have never attempted directly to govern, which, by their religious institutes, was a function reserved for others. Indeed, in historical times, there have been in Native India only two or three States of any importance ruled by Brahmans, and these were formed under exceptional circumstances and in days of great commotion. India has fully accepted the right of England to govern, and England should remain content with the power and prerogatives of kingship; and it is waste of strength to employ members of the ruling caste, Englishmen, in law courts and treasuries and revenue settlements, in administrative and judicial detail, which may safely be entrusted to the hands of those who have a hereditary aptitude for the work, and whose forefathers were performing similar functions when the British were learning the first elements of civilization from their Roman conquerors.

Anxious as I am to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of our young graduates, I would thus, while not closing the door to exceptional merit in any class, endeavour to confine the stream to its legitimate channel. I would invite into the civil administration the Brahman and Writer castes; I would provide for the Rajput Thakur and the Sikh Sindar employment in the army, or in honorary magistracies in rural districts, to which special privileges should be attached, and for such gentlemen I would multiply twenty-fold titles and decorations which are the cheapest reward of loyalty and good service at the disposal of any Government. But I would not summon Mr. Lowell's collier from his coal-mine to power, which is the short-sighted policy of an educational circular issued a short time back by the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, reducing the endowments of the Brahmans in order to provide the lower castes with an English education which will do them more harm than good. Far better that they should honestly make shoes or plough the fields as their fathers before them, and leave

administration to those who, in unanimous Hindu opinion, are their betters. The thin commonplaces of liberty and equality sound strangely discordant in Indian air. The sesquipedalian Baboo discourses in vain on ballot boxes and parliaments and the will of the people, and all the complicated phantasmagoria of modern democracy; there is no voice in reply, nor any that regardeth. The ages look down on the long procession of heroes, kings, and priests who have, through countless generations, led the gentle Hindu race through the political desert; and in the clear light of history and experience these war cries of the West are seen to be shams and unveracities in a country where unchanging conservatism is the only secure and accepted foundation of society, and where those who sow democratic seed must only look to reap the whirlwind.

Among the gifts of liberty-loving England to India has been a free press; but, as might be imagined from the foregoing remarks, the success of the experiment has, so far, been more than doubtful. In Native India, an independent press has no place. Great States like Gwalior and Indore publish a weekly gazette; but it contains nothing beyond official announcements and notifications. Certain of the smaller States, such as Rutlain, Jaora, and Dhar, do the same, and in these, scraps of news gathered from other journals are added. But the only State in Central India in which a newspaper, properly so called, is published, is Bhopal, where a journal called the *Dabir-ul-Mulk*, with a circulation of perhaps two hundred, appears weekly. It is edited by a subordinate officer in the Appellate Court, and is maintained for the purpose of singing weekly peans, extolling the wisdom and virtue of certain officials, and a word of undesired or independent criticism on any person or act in the State would be punished by the instant dismissal of the editor. The liberty of the press is not estimated as highly in the Bhopal Court as by some English statesmen. Although the press has few representatives in native States, yet it exercises a certain influence from without,

which, were it less venal, or better informed, might be productive of good. But the number of honest and independent vernacular journals in British India is few, and most of these are confined to the Presidency towns, Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. Even these are generally too poor, with too small a circulation, to maintain regular and competent correspondents in native States. The great majority are worthless prints, edited by half-educated youths fresh from college, who have picked up some of the vague propositions and careless generalizations of English political life, but who are without the training, experience, or knowledge to discriminate between sense and nonsense, the false and the true. The public naturally cares nothing for their effusions, and, in default of subscribers, the editors, like Bhils in time of famine, eke out a doubtful existence by public pillage. The Raja is fair game. He lives in awe of the Government, and knows that the procedure of his law courts and police would not be advantaged by a close scrutiny. Blackmail is accordingly demanded. If he subscribes to the journal and subsidizes it on suitable occasions he is bedaubed with praise for his justice, which, in the case of Rhadamanthus, would be extravagant. If he refuse to stand and deliver, he is held up to the public as a monster of iniquity. Many chiefs have complained to me of the demands thus made on them by unscrupulous editors; and there can be no doubt that a large number of vernacular papers are maintained for purposes of robbery, and could not exist at all were it not for blackmail levied from chiefs, to which may be added the payment of those who insert their own self-written praises. In Native India the vernacular press is a nuisance. There are many ill-governed States where exposure would be a public advantage. But for genuine grievances the press cares little.

Should the Government, weary of complaints of long-continued oppression, step in and curtail the power of a ruler, or remove him altogether, the vernacular press, with

but few honourable exceptions, denounces its action as tyrannical, and misrepresents its motives as selfish. It has no real sympathy with the cultivating castes, to which it does not belong, and which it despises; and it throws the whole weight of its influence, which fortunately is not great, on the side of the oppressor. The phenomenon is not surprising when we consider the absence of sympathy between the social classes, and the stratum from which the press draws the majority of its recruits. One of the most slashing critics of the Government is a young man, son of a menial servant of my own, whom I educated for charity, and who now, like the fly on the wheel of the carriage, believes that he influences its movement. The higher the editor in the social scale, the more moderate his utterances may be expected to be. The tradition of personal dignity and respect for constituted authority is still strong with him. But when the new wine of English education is drunk by youths of the lower orders, who have no hereditary predisposition to intellectual temperance, it is very apt to fly to their heads. But with editors of both classes it is pitiable to find so little desire to benefit the mass of the people, or to take their part against public wrong. Whether it be the case of *Burmah*, *Baroda*, or *Kashmir*, when the British Government interferes to protect the poor from oppression, the vernacular press ranges itself in opposition. I was yesterday reading a Bengali newspaper, which observed that if the native press had been as strong formerly as at present, the Government would have been unable to abolish *Suttee*. The time may come when a free press in India may be a power for good; when the common interest may be elevated above class prejudice, and when license may no longer be confounded with liberty. But that day seems to be distant; and those who are most anxious for the rational progress of the country are the least hopeful of experiments which are not in harmony with the traditional sentiment of the people.

The English race, possessed of high political aptitude

and administrative capacity, is yet cursed with a want of imagination which prevents its seeing doctrines of practical politics with the same eyes as those with which they are regarded by alien peoples to whom they are sought to be applied. Filled with a serene pride in the perfection of their own constitution, although it is full of anomalies and contradictions, only working with infinite friction and with the aid of compromises and legal fictions, and threatening, at this very moment, to break under the democratic pressure which it was never constructed to resist, Englishmen still believe that it is the panacea for all political evils, and that it must benefit all races, however different from themselves, which can be persuaded or compelled to adopt it. If, as in India, the whole constitution cannot be suddenly accepted, they yet endeavour to introduce unconnected portions of it, which have no value out of their exact place in the political order. It would be as reasonable to export to India the boiler and driving-wheel of a locomotive without the remainder of the machine. Englishmen do not realize that India is in its political infancy; that its approved system, beyond the range of English influence, as in native States, is that of the thirteenth century in Europe, and that, in addition, the genius of the people differs so largely, not alone in degree, but in its inherent nature, from that of the West, that the political problems to be solved are both unlike and would be naturally worked out by altogether another process. By action in opposition to the conservatism of the country we may gain some worthless applause from those amiable and ingenious young Indians who are, in English drawing-rooms, erroneously supposed to represent the mass of their countrymen, but we outrage the sentiment of the vast majority of all classes, who desire to be left in peace without the trouble of guessing insoluble political riddles. What care they for Parliamentary representation and national councils, and the other foolish catchwords of the platform of Laputa? They neither understand nor desire them; and if they form any opinion

regarding them, it is expressed in the conviction that the Brahman and the Baboo would monopolize all the piums in the administrative pudding, and would represent no one but themselves.

It is difficult to clothe in visible shape and form, for the understanding of the English public, the intense conservatism of India and its detestation and terror of change, even though under the pretence of progress. In one hundred and fifty years, the impression that we have made on Hindu social life may be summed up as railway travelling, lucifer matches, and umbrellas. Even this list might fairly be restricted, for although the umbrella, even in native States, is now the ordinary attendant of every respectable person, in sunshine or in rain, it may be suggested that its universal use is not due to English example, but represents no more than the abnormal development of a hereditary and distinctly native tendency. For in India, as throughout the East, where the umbrella had its origin, this implement has been immemorially associated with royalty; and in Persia, Egypt, Assyria, China, and India, was reserved for the ruling caste, or for those whom they condescended to honour. The distaste of Englishmen for a disability founded on so unreasonable and aristocratic a view of their familiar companion, caused a tacit withdrawal of the obnoxious prohibition, and we may, without extravagance, assume that the umbrella merely satisfied an existing craving formerly checked by penal sanctions. The use of railways and lucifer matches, both somewhat democratic in their tendency, is sufficiently explained by their extraordinary physical convenience which has, though with difficulty, overmastered the conservative instinct. A thousand illustrations are at hand to show this deep-rooted sentiment of the Indian community. One or two will here suffice. India, with all its civilization, had not, before the British advent, conceived the idea of a metalled road. The country track, without much regard to lines of drainage, was all that chiefs and merchants had to depend upon:

and, in Central India, where the deep black cotton soil is almost universal, this signified the absolute cessation of wheeled traffic during the rainy season. Near Neemuch, in Gwalior territory, in the middle of the public road leading to the important town of Jawad, tradition has it an elephant sank out of sight. English enterprise has covered British India with magnificent metalled roads, rivalling, in length and workmanship, those of ancient Rome. Yet the idea has not been acclimatized; and I doubt whether, if we left India to-morrow, a single mile of metalled road would ever again be made in the whole peninsula. In Central India, many fine roads have been constructed in great part with the contributions of native States; but the money has been given at the request of British officers, and from a desire to stand well with the Government. No native chief has ever, to my knowledge, constructed a metalled road on his own initiative. They are supremely indifferent to the logic of facts placed before their eyes, and do not admit that the new road is superior to the ancient tracks, which experience must have taught them were difficult in the dry season and impassable morasses in the rains.

Another illustration is found in the combined use of the knife and fork. Intimate association with Western ideas has not familiarized India with these convenient weapons. Yesterday, a Muhammadan gentleman of high position, and nearly related to a great ruling chief, was dining with me. With the soup all was plain sailing; but insuperable difficulties arose with the entrées, and my friend, in spite of his heroic endeavours, was obliged to dine on the vegetables and sweets. In his own house, he would have held the joint with one hand, while he cut pieces from it with the other, and would then have conveyed the meat to his mouth with his fingers. It is easy to assert that illustrations such as these are superficial or trivial, that Indians do not ordinarily eat with Europeans; while some peripatetic philosophers may argue that the fingers are more convenient for the transmission of food to the mouth than

the conventional knife and fork. But allowing such considerations their full weight, I am disposed to think that the neglect of so great a convenience, and the reluctance of the Hindu creed (every action in Hindu society requiring religious sanction) to include the fork within its cognizance, have their root deep in the Indian nature, and that the lesson of the illustration might be studied with advantage by those who are now endeavouring to persuade Hindu society to swallow unaccustomed political messes with the aid of democratic knives and forks.

If I were asked to describe Hindu society with the help of but one adjective I would say that it is religious. In a different and more dogmatic sense, this equally applies to the Muhammadan population, but it may be conveniently excluded from the present consideration. To the Hindu the Deity is literally omnipresent. A belief in the Divine Presence fills his life. From the early dawn to night, everything in nature speaks to him of the supernatural influences that surround him. The birds of the air, the snake, the domestic animals—all are connected with him by subtle links, and furnish him with omens which he does not think of questioning. The quiet forest glades are not silent to him. In the whispering of the peepul or the banyan tree he is still with the Divinity; and beneath their shade he does not dare to say what is false. The monkey in the branches wears the familiar features of his beloved god Hanuman; the grove itself may be haunted by some unknown spirit, kind or maleficent. His humble meal of unleavened cakes and water is a sacrifice, only to be taken after due ceremonial observances. He sees God in the sunshine which ripens his crop, in the hail that blasts it, in the lightning and storm that rend the forest. Small-pox is directly in the cruel hands of the goddess Lîtlâ Mâtâ, whose wrath must be averted at the Dassehra festival by propitiatory offerings of clarified butter and flowers. Inanimate, with animate nature, is within the mysterious circle of the supernatural; while the spirits of departed men,

heroic or evil, or whom an unkind fate has denied the blessed funeral rites, roam around their ancient homesteads, to bless or ban, to profit or to destroy, the men who still live, but who nevertheless walk hourly hand in hand with the unseen and eternity.

The Hindu faith has been cunningly devised to include all requirements of the human intellect. It strikes, with one swoop, the whole gamut of spiritual emotion; it soars with the philosopher to the most transcendental heights of theism, and kneels with the fetish-worshipping savage before a painted stone in the forest. No existing creed, Christianity included, inculcates a nobler morality or teaches a more spiritual and esoteric theory of life; no creed is weighted with a more trivial, soul-enslaving ritual, or has degenerated, in vulgar practice, into a more dull, cruel, and obscene slavery.

The social and political conservatism of India is caused by its roots being deep in this religious soil. The power of the Brahmans is derived from the institutes of Menu—a system of law and ceremonial drawn up and promulgated by Brahman priests in order to perpetuate their tyranny under the pretended sanction of a Divine revelation. No more monstrous imposition has ever been accepted by any people known to history. The Hindu has voluntarily and, since the great Buddhistic revolt, unresistingly put his neck beneath the yoke of the most arrogant of priesthoods, and has allowed his place in the social scale and his chances of future happiness to depend on the caprice of a greedy priest or a naked ascetic.

Unsatisfactory as a system which has inextricably mingled sociology and religion may be from a philosophical point of view, it still, from the standpoint of practical politics, has much to recommend it. The religious beliefs of the people are obviously a matter of indifference to a government which does not share them, and looks alone to the good or evil influence they exercise on the duties of citizenship. To a wise government that religion is the best

which makes and maintains the citizen most loyal, orderly, and content. This is undoubtedly the merit of Brahmanism. There is no other creed in the world which rebukes ambition as a crime, and successfully teaches its professors to respect authority and to be contented with their lot, even when most unfortunate and degraded. For purposes of government, apart from theological predilection, this is surely an ideal creed; while in its higher development its ethical standard is so pure, and its theism so simple and noble, that it well deserves such generous encouragement as may be consistent with the strict rules of religious neutrality. The weakness of the British educational system is, that it ignores religion as the basis of both Hindu and Muhammadan society, and in its schools and colleges confines its efforts to secular instruction. Yet it would seem incontrovertible that irreligious education must in India have a demoralizing and disintegrating effect. The Muhammadans, whose creed is more dogmatic than ceremonial, have realized this, and have, in consequence, very generally declined the free education offered them. In their eyes all teaching that is not religious is accursed. It is doubtful whether the British Government is now disposed to allow religious teaching in its schools, Sikhs, Muhammadans, Hindus, and Christians, being instructed in the principles of their respective creeds by their priests and mullahs. I believe that a wise policy would favour this return to an attitude of friendly sympathy towards the creeds professed by millions of Her Majesty's subjects, and that the present irreligious, agnostic teaching of the Government colleges is a grave public danger, and produces disloyal and discontented citizens. I have urged this view on the Punjab University, the only educational institution in India which has been founded on popular principles and with the declared aim of encouraging, stimulating, and developing the conservative Oriental sentiment in preference to the democratic and disintegrating teaching of the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay. It is probable that the Govern-

ment could take this step without any danger of overstepping the line of strict religious neutrality which it has finally and wisely accepted. It would thus be doing little more than it is now proposing to do in placing the arrangements for Muhammadan pilgrims to the sacred places in Arabia in the hands of the enterprising Mr. Cook, of tourist notoriety. I do not think that it is possible to exaggerate the excellent effect that this wise measure will have on the Muhammadans, not only of India, but of Central Asia and Afghanistan. The journey to Mecca was one of extreme hardship and danger. A few days ago I was discussing it with the Nawab of Kurwai, who told me that eleven men of his party were killed by the Arabs, who, he said, considered Indian pilgrims as created for them to rob. When the Muhammadan world realizes that the Government of Her Majesty is making easy their journey to the holy shrines, a feeling of gratitude and confidence will be universal; and in no other way could the attachment of Muhammadans to the Government be more certainly secured. The question of allowing to both Hindus and Muhammadans a religious education is one which deserves not less consideration. English education is an excellent thing, but, like a powerful medicine, it should be administered with discretion, and we must be careful that we do not invite a destructive demon, instead of a healing angel, to trouble the still pool of Indian society.

In this paper I have only endeavoured to indicate some of those influences which are most powerful and constant in their operation in India, and to describe the Indian as he really is. At a future time I will attempt to show in detail some phases of Indian existence, and invite English readers to view the public and private life of a native court, to follow the pathetic story of a Hindu woman's career, and to camp for a time with the wild Bhil in the wooded hills that overlook the sacred Nerbudda. But these pictures would have little meaning without a preliminary sketch explanatory of the general character of the Indian people and their social

and religious surroundings. There is no country or people more worthy of careful study, especially by Englishmen with whose destiny that of India is irrevocably involved. There is no reason that the union of England and India should always remain like those mediæval marriages in which the bridegroom and bride were separated by a naked sword. The Hindus are a noble race, possessed of many virtues and high intellectual gifts, and their gentle nature is singularly responsive to generous treatment. Difficult as it may be to understand their secret heart, Englishmen need not despair of winning both their respect and their affection. India abounds in problems of entrancing interest, life conundrums which, like those propounded by the sphinx, English rulers must answer or be devoured, and for the solution of which the only keys are courage, untiring patience, and unbounded sympathy.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

Central India, February, 1886.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE annexation of Upper Burmah alone gives the closing quarter an exceptional interest and importance in connection with Asiatic history. The proclamation of New Year's Day announced that Thebaw had ceased to reign for ever. It was less emphatic as to the future form of government in his dominions. Lord Dufferin's visit to Mandalay five weeks later marked the practical assumption of governing responsibility by the Indian executive, and Mr. Gladstone sanctioned a wise and statesmanlike course when, at the beginning of March, he authorized the Viceroy to issue another proclamation annexing Upper Burmah to British India. There is now no room to question the firmness of our policy on the Irrawaddy, and, what is not less important, the connection between India and Burmah has been cemented instead of weakened, and rendered practically indissoluble. It is something at least to feel sure that the rising agitation to turn the dominions of Ava into a Crown Colony, or to place them under some protected prince, has been stifled or allayed on the very threshold of our new undertaking. Lord Dufferin's visit was attended with other advantages than eliminating from our Burmese policy some of its elements of weakness. It gave a fillip to the activity of our administrators, who may have been too much disposed to think that their action could not be improved upon, and that everything they did was the best that could be done. It also produced the fall of the Hlootdaw, or Council of Ministers, to whose malign influence much of the late disorder in the State is directly due. The journey of the Viceroy up the Irrawaddy served many practical

purposes, and its local effect was undoubtedly heightened by the presence of Lady Dufferin in a country where female influence plays so important a part in the affairs of life and of the State.

Regarding the position in Burmah by the light of our former experiences in Pegu and Tenasserim, it must be allowed to be very satisfactory, and up to the present moment our total loss has been insignificant. There are still bands of dacoits, and it may be years before these are all dispersed; but the most numerous band raised by the so-called Alompra prince has been stripped of its formidable character by its inability to keep the small English garrison at Temethen in check. There are still large quantities of arms in this country, and unscrupulous traders may endeavour to import fresh supplies, but no spirit of national resistance has been aroused, and so long as that is true the ultimate pacification of the country is not doubtful, although dacoity may continue to prevail. Some steps have been taken towards establishing friendly relations with the southern Shans; but the northern tribes of that race, who have paid tribute with indifference to both China and Burmah, remain outside the sphere of our influence; and if there is danger of coming trouble in any quarter it is on the northern course of the Irrawaddy that it must be expected. The appointment of men like Mr. Archibald Colquhoun and Mr. J. G. Scott to posts in the administration is not merely the well-deserved reward of exceptional enterprise, but introduces into the Government men whose main idea is to promote trade and to establish new means of communication. Until the country has been more tranquillized it would be premature to expect English capital to turn to any large extent towards Burmah as a new field for its employment. All the signs of the situation, so far as the internal condition of Burmah goes, are favourable, and, were our future relations with China settled, the horizon would be without a cloud.

The last stage of the Afghan frontier delimitation

commission has been reached, and, unless events take an untoward course in the next five weeks, its labours will terminate without further hitch on the banks of the Oxus at the end of that period. The frontier having been marked down as far as Meruchak, there only remains in the further portion of the frontier the question relating to Maimena and Andkhoi, which might be turned to the same use as the claims of the Sariks and the extent of the Penjdeli oasis. The preliminary surveys of the English and Russian engineer officers and topographers leave a smaller loop-hole for this course being adopted than was the case on the Murghab. In fact the head commissioners have now nothing more to do than to ride over and confirm the line of demarcation suggested and surveyed by their subordinates. The probability is, therefore, that the commission will be safely returned to India by the time of our next issue, and it is mooted that it should return by way of Cabul or of Badakshan. It will be a matter of unqualified rejoicing that this band of Englishmen and natives of India should have succeeded in residing for eighteen months and in returning in safety from among the "treacherous and bloodthirsty Afghan." Our expeditions into Central Asia have not been marked with such success and credit as to lead us to disparage the record of this commission. It has certainly added much to our geographical knowledge, and we now possess more accurate information than would otherwise have been possible about the Ameer's position and policy. But we at least do not place the smallest amount of trust in any of its conclusions as a means of checking the forward movement of Russia on Herat and the Hindoo Koosh. To illustrate our meaning, it will be found that the Russian Government will use in the convention closing the transaction some phrase of the following description (the dominions of the Ameer Abdurrahman) for the country of Afghanistan. That is to say, they will contend that a successful rebellion against his authority in any one of his border districts will nullify their

obligations. English diplomacy, if it has any backbone, will refuse to accept any convention that does not guarantee respect for the geographical and not the political Afghanistan.

Events in other parts of Asia are not of very striking interest or importance just now. The other frontier commission engaged upon the task of laying down the new frontier between France and China in Tonquin cannot be said, like that beyond the Paropamisus, to see the end of its labours looming pleasantly before it. In fact its difficulties are beginning to be more apparent, and it has not yet the satisfaction of regarding any work that it has done. The precise points of difference are of comparative unimportance. The possession of a village, more or less, will not give the French any signal advantage, and if the Chinese raise difficulties as to their position, we may safely assume that they do so, not because they attribute any undue importance to particular places, but because they have a distaste for the whole transaction. On one point they were firm to the extent of defiance. The French wanted a consulate in Yunnan. The demand has been peremptorily refused, and the Governor-General of that province has taken measures to show that he is prepared for the consequences. This particular incident is not likely to have unpleasant consequences, because the treaty of peace did not stipulate for this concession. The really serious matter in the question is that the Chinese are beginning to see how very nearly victorious they were in Tonquin, and the temptation to take full advantage of France's embarrassments throughout the old empire of Annam is extremely great. The Tonquin question is therefore far from settled, and the regret of the Chinese in conjunction with the financial difficulties of M. de Freycinet may reopen the whole dispute. Now, more than ever, is it becoming plain how troublesome a dependency the dearly bought province on the Songcoi must prove to the Republic.

In another country of the far East events have been in

progress, which, although we do not possess the key to their mastery, are moulding the destiny of an important country and people. We allude to Corea, which has now ratified her commercial treaties with all the great trading powers. The event to which we particularly wish to refer concerns the internal condition of Corea rather than its external relations: At the time of the first Chinese intervention in Corea, four years ago, the young king's father was carried off a prisoner and placed in honourable confinement. Last October, this man, named Tai Wang Kun, was suddenly released and allowed to return to his native country. No reason has been given for this step, and it is not easy to say why Li Hung Chang decided to reverse in one particular his well-planned policy. Another matter has come to light which induces us to believe that the return of Tai Wang Kun has been sanctioned, with the object of securing the Chinese a friend at a court where Japanese interests have been actively promoted. It is curious, at least, to learn that the Chinese resident in Japan takes credit to himself for having discovered a plot to murder the Mikado, and for having apprised his Government of it. But really the most curious fact in this incident is that these conspirators hoped to carry out their plot by stirring up strife in Corea between China and Japan. We are justified in deducing this much from these reports, that the rivalry between China and Japan in Corea is very keen, and the progress of that country may be hindered and delayed, unless our Government strenuously supports counsels of moderation at Tokio and Peking.

The rapidity with which General Annenkoff has laid his line of railway as far as the Tejend does not admit of serious doubt as to his ability to continue it with equal celerity to the Oxus. No doubt can be felt as to its great value to Russia, both for purposes of trade and for the transport of troops. It provides a means of traversing the most formidable desert of Central Asia, which is sure to procure for it the support of commercial people. It is

obvious that it will allow the 150,000 men of the army of the Caucasus and the 50,000 men of the army of Turkestan to join hands at Merv. We regret that our own frontier railway is very far from having reached this advanced stage. More than another twelve months will be required before our permanent line into the Pishin valley will be open for traffic, and although there was some reason to suppose that the greater part of the Bholan railway would be working at Easter, it is not certain that even this expectation will be realized. Our chagrin may be subdued by reflecting that the difficulties we have had to overcome are truly stupendous, while those of the Russian engineers are simply insignificant; but the grand fact remains that Russia will probably have connected Samarcand and the Caspian before our engines reach Karez Gulistan. The four years lost between 1880 and 1884 are thus shown to have been fatally wasted, and the ground then sacrificed has not been recovered.

REVIEWS.

An Anglo-Indian Glossary.

As our space will not permit anything beyond a very brief and inadequate notice of this learned and elaborate work, it may be some amends for our enforced brevity to give the title-page in full ["Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive," by Col. HENRY YULE, C.B., and the late ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, C.I.E. (Murray.)], as best conveying an idea of the multifarious contents in the concisest form, yet definitely and comprehensively. The quaint but suggestive, as it will seem on reading the author's explanation of the reasons for its adoption, title-name, is an almost obsolete term by which

the British soldier anglicised with his usual love of jocular slang and indifference to foreign idioms, the Shias' cry, "Yā Hasan, Yā Hosain," at the procession of the Moharram. The development, or rather degeneration of the phrase from its origin, is fully described under its proper heading in the body of the Glossary, and it will give a fair notion of the spirit in which the whole work has been composed. Among such a rich feast of materials to gratify the appetite of lovers of rare and recondite lore, it would be difficult to single out any special items as excelling the rest; for all that we have examined are admirable in quality and treated with a scientific care and literary ability which cannot fail to satisfy the most fastidious taste. Notwithstanding our hesitation to discriminate among so much that is good, we would venture to mention the article "Upas," as one which struck us as possessing the highest merit. It disposes in a conclusive manner of the mythical exaggerations which have clustered round the tree, and been found so handy for the illustration of sensational oratory, since one Foersch, in the last century, wrote a fabulous account of the lethal influence it exercised on life and vegetation in its vicinity. The simple scientific facts of the question seem to us much more entertaining, as of course they are more instructive, reading than the gaudy legends which formerly passed muster regarding this malign product of the Java forests. Col. Yule's Glossary should find a place in every library: it is a serious work, but by no means a dry one; it is a book of reference, but open it where one will a pleasant half-hour's reading is sure to be found in its pages.

History of Gujarat.

THROUGH "the joint liberality of the Secretary of State for India and Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co.," this volume containing a history of the once flourishing and formidable kingdom of Gujarat is given to the world some months

after its accomplished editor, Sir Edward Clive Bayley, quitted it. It forms [under the title of "The Local Muhammadan Dynasties. Gujarat." (W. H. Allen and Co.)] a sequel to Sir Henry Elliot's "History of the Muhammadan Empire of India," and it carries on the work commenced by that historian of narrating the course of past events in that country from the information and often in the very words of its native writers and chroniclers. The late Professor Dowson's translation of the Gujarati history "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" forms the basis of the work, but several MSS. generously lent by the late Sir Salar Jung have been used to improve the text, whilst numerous annotations are taken from authors who wrote more or less incidentally of Gujarat affairs. The history begins in the eighth century with the legendary adventures of the wife of Sawant Singh and her son, who in course of time became ruler, styled Ban Raj or the Forest King. The history is continued in the present work as far as the middle of the sixteenth century with the most copious detail, and we understand that another volume may be expected to bring it down nearly to our own day. The greatest of all the rulers of Gujarat was Ahmed Shah, who ascended the throne in 1410, founded the wonderful city of Ahmedabad, and reigned for thirty years over an extensive territory. Of Ahmedabad Mahomedan writers declare that "travellers are agreed that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful, charming, and splendid. Other cities may excel it in population, but no other city comes up to it in beauty and splendour." After a brief examination of this work, for it would unfortunately be untrue to say that life is long enough to carefully peruse its pages, it is impossible to resist a feeling of admiration for the courage that has led editor and publishers to produce this volume and to promise that it shall have a successor. It is calculated to inspire respect for English research, and to vindicate the too lightly aspersed reputation of our own Orientalists; and that wide body of our countrymen materially interested in

Western India should encourage and reward the labour and energy expended in the production of this history, both of whose editors had the misfortune to die before its completion.

The Bibliography of Egypt.

PRINCE IBRAHIM HILMY of Egypt is to be complimented on the useful literary work ["The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan," A Bibliography. (Trübner.)] to which he has devoted the leisure of his days of exile. Egypt has at all ages either possessed a great literature of her own, or attracted by her monuments and political affairs the attention of foreign writers. The number of works published about this country, "from the earliest times to 1883 inclusive," might seem incalculable, but Prince Ibrahim Hilmy has produced what seems to be an almost complete bibliography as far as the letter L in one volume. The remaining letters of the alphabet are to be treated in a second volume of about the same size. This achievement is the more remarkable because the author has included many articles in the newspapers of the day, and the literature on General Gordon alone fills five columns. The volume contains 400 pages and 800 columns, and on an average these have references to ten distinct works, so that this first volume of the bibliography of Egypt, including the Soudan, as Prince Ibrahim Hilmy pointedly reminds the reader, gives the titles and full bibliographical particulars of not less than 8,000 works. After stating these facts it is not necessary for us to add that the work is invaluable as a book of reference, and although it would be impossible to vouch for its complete accuracy without verifying each entry, we can say that we have tried several little known works with which some special researches had made us accidentally familiar, and that we have found them correctly recorded by Prince Ibrahim Hilmy.

Our Burmese Wars.

THE third Burmese war necessarily invests with interest for the general reader the subject of its two predecessors of which Colonel Laurie has given the most detailed description possible or desirable. The second edition of his work, "*Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burmah*," is opportunely published (W. H. Allen and Co.), if it cannot be said that it adds anything to the information of the first edition brought out six years ago. But, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that Colonel Laurie has prepared a very complete account of the campaigns of 1824-6 and 1852-3, of the long struggle with the dacoits, and of the final pacification of the country. If the present position of our forces and administration on the Irrawaddy is to be understood, a due consideration must be paid to our former experiences, and certainly there is no work in which so much information on this subject is brought within the same compass as Colonel Laurie's compilation. The volume shows undoubted defects in literary skill and simplicity of arrangement, but with all its faults it remains one of the most useful handbooks on the subject of English proceedings in Burmah from 1824 to 1879.

Burmese Life.

OUR readers will not need to be told that Mr. Scott or Shway Yoe is a graphic writer. His latest work [*"Burma as it was, as it is, and as it will be."* (G. Redway.)] does not belie his reputation, although it is little more than an expansion of a very interesting lecture which he delivered at the Society of Arts. The reproach of ignorance against our public men of not knowing where and what Burmah is—in proof of which Mr. Scott quotes the well-known story of the legislator who confounded Burmah and Bermuda—has been removed, and in its place is to

be found an increasing desire to acquire the most detailed information about our new possession. With regard to the people, their customs, and ways of living and thinking no one can supply this information better than Mr. Scott; and his success is all the greater because he recognizes the obligation to interest as well as instruct his readers.

Indo-China.

THESE papers ["Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China." (Trübner and Co.)] reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society form a valuable addition to the Oriental Series of their publishers. They are selected from Dalrymple's "Oriental Repertory," and the "Asiatic Researches," and the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." They have enjoyed an exceptional advantage in being placed before the English reader under the editorship of so sound a scholar as Dr. Rost, Librarian at the India Office. The information contained therein is not confined to what is commonly understood by the term "Indo-China," but extends to many of the islands stretching east and south from the Malay Peninsula, even as far as New Guinea. Much curious and occasionally useful matter is contained in the reports from British agents in the settlements we held in Sumatra and Borneo towards the end of the last and the commencement of the present century. The remarks of one of these gentlemen, Mr. John Jesse, who wrote to the Court of Directors from Borneo in 1775, as to the means he adopted for establishing trade and friendly relations with the natives are especially deserving of notice. Among other things he also remarks that the people of Borneo who once enjoyed a high reputation as conquerors in the adjacent seas were chiefly actuated in concluding a treaty of commerce with us by the engagement we entered into to protect them against the pirates of Mindanao, the subsequent breach of which

engagement on our part resulted in disturbing our relations and finally breaking up our connection with the Government of Borneo. There is an official letter from Pulo Panang announcing the formal taking possession of it by the representatives of the East India Company in 1786; thus our first acquisition by purchase in Malacca preceded exactly by one hundred years our late annexation of Upper Burmah. At that period Siam was considered an aggressive and formidable Power by its neighbours. The chapter on "The Traces of the Hindu Language and Literature extant among the Malays," by Mr. W. Marsden, is interesting and complete for the time when it was written, but is now somewhat out of date. The report in 1861 of Captains Fraser and Forlong of their survey of the Isthmus of Krau speaks in a favourable sense of the practicability and financial prospects of a railway from the Pakchan river to the Gulf of Siam; but later surveys seem to show that the cost of excavating a canal across the isthmus would be enormous. The most recent investigations are regarded by some authorities as justifying the expectation that this isthmus will yet be pierced as Suez has been and as Corinth and perhaps Panama will be.

Mythical Monsters.

THE opening passages of Mr. Gould's introduction are simply unintelligible, but the main body of the book is curious and not uninforming. It must be hoped, therefore, that his readers will not be deterred on the threshold of their task from continuing the perusal of his volume. Mr. Gould has devoted his attention to the study of those mythical monsters which existed in the earlier stages of the world's history, and of which all have not now disappeared, if the statements about the sea serpent recorded in this volume ["Mythical Monsters," by CHARLES GOULD. (W. H. Allen and Co.)] were to be accepted as sober

matter of fact. The volume shows considerable powers of research as well as a wide and discursive reading, from which the author has collated much evidence and a still greater quantity of popular superstition concerning the dragon, the sea serpent, the unicorn, and the phoenix. The long chapter on the Chinese dragon—which is to the Celestials what the lion is to England or the eagle to France—is, we can testify, particularly interesting; and both the unicorn and the phoenix are shown to be as common to the far East as they are in our own legendary history. On the whole Mr. Gould's work is one likely to excite some curiosity, and the absence of scientific pretension may ensure for it a wide circle of readers.

The Legends of the Punjab.

CAPTAIN RICHARD TEMPLE has identified himself with the illustration of the folk-lore and legendary history of the Punjab, and in the two volumes entitled "*The Legends of the Panjab*" (Trübner and Co.) he has provided a very considerable instalment towards the completion of a work to which he has devoted himself with characteristic energy for some years past. The subject is not one that can be disposed of in a few lines, and on the present occasion we do not pretend to do more than chronicle the appearance of these volumes, and to express our opinion that they open out to the English reader a new field, comparatively speaking, of knowledge regarding the inhabitants of, perhaps, the most interesting of all the provinces of India.

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Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.

ED. A. Q. R.



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